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Captain John Smith

Travels and Works

of

Captain John Smith

1580-

President of Virginia, and
Admiral of New England

1580-1631

Edited by

EDWARD ARBER, F.S.A.

A New Edition, with a Biographical and Critical Introduction, by

A. G. BRADLEY

PART I.

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The text of the nine books, originally printed in different styles, has herein been normalized as to style of printing; and broken up into convenient paragraphs. The punctuation has been harmonized with this; and also occasionally altered (though always with reluctance), wherever it plainly conflicted with the sense.

For all matter between square brackets [ ], except on *pp.* ci-cxiv, Prof. Edward Arber is responsible.

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INTRODUCTION

BY

A. G. BRADLEY

THE intention of planting English Colonies on the Atlantic coast of North America, as a wedge between the domains of Spain in the South and the vaguer footing of France in the far North, preceded the close of the sixteenth century by some twenty years. Sir Humphrey Gilbert received the first patent from Queen Elizabeth, but was drowned in a storm off Newfoundland while prosecuting his endeavours. His rights were then confirmed to his famous step-brother Raleigh—who out of his abundance and with persistent zeal supplied the means for furthering such enterprises. A quite common misconception credits Raleigh with having been the personal founder of Virginia. As a matter of fact the Queen herself put her veto on his sailing in the expeditions that he nevertheless fitted out. The first one started in 1584 under Amidas and Barlow, but made no lodgment. They touched on the coast of what is now North Carolina, and returned home again with nothing but a name for the new country, to wit—Win gandacoa, which Elizabeth, with at least as much sense as vanity, promptly rejected and substituted that of Virginia in its place. The following year Raleigh sent another party of a hundred men under Sir Richard Grenville, who left them on Roanoke Island and sailed home for fresh supplies. In the meantime Drake arrived, and by their own request carried them off. When Grenville returned he found his people vanished, but whither he could not tell, as they had left no clue ; so he sailed away, leaving a guard of fifteen men who were never seen again. Yet another party was

sent by Raleigh in 1587—one hundred and fifty men this time, including a few women—under White. These, too, were landed on Roanoke Island; but the exigencies of the Spanish Armada prevented succour coming to them till 1591, when White returned, only to find the abandoned remains of their effects. Neither they nor even their bones were ever discovered.

The destruction of the Spanish Armada, and the staggering blows struck at Spain on every sea, now opened the way for the English to challenge boldly her claim to North America, and to take up their stand by her side upon the Atlantic coast. Raleigh's own adventuring in South America withdrew him for some time from England and his pet schemes, but in 1602 he sent one more expedition to Virginia which, however, affected nothing. His troubles with King James now terminated his active career in imprisonment and ultimate death, his Virginia patent then escheating to the crown.

If Raleigh was the most active promoter of the colonising spirit which was gradually taking fast hold of England, the great geographer Hakluyt, in so far as was possible to a mere man of the closet, was no whit behind him as a stimulating force, and was much in his confidence. Hakluyt's influence was immense upon the daring and adventurous minds of England. It seems astonishing in these days of universal travel—when a stay-at-home student's written instructions for colonists or explorers would be a cause of infinite mirth—to think that hardened adventurers by land and sea took with them minute directions as to camping places by the Orinoco, or the best method of treating the Algonquin Indians from this reverend and studious Canon of Westminster. And all this time the man who most of us persist in regarding as the saviour of the first permanent English settlement in North America, and beyond all dispute the fullest and most fascinating chronicler of that epoch-making event, was fitting himself unconsciously for the work.

In that portion of this work entitled the *True Travels*, Part 1, Captain John Smith gives us the story of that early portion of his

life which was passed in Europe, and brings it up to the time when he turned his thoughts towards Virginia and colonisation. The veracity of this bit of his autobiography has been violently attacked by some—occasionally as it seems to us on very flimsy pretexts—and as stoutly defended by others, conspicuously by Professor Arber who devoted years of his life to the subject, and by the late Professor Fiske of Harvard, probably the most illuminating and weighty writer on Early Colonisation that North America has produced.

Considering the period, however, at which Smith lived, the nations against or with whom he served, there is little or nothing on the face of his narrative to strain the credulity of any one with a tolerable grasp of history and social progress.

With the virtual monopoly enjoyed by the West of England in the patriots and sea dogs of the Elizabethan period, it is an almost welcome change to find one bearing the plain name of John Smith and hailing from Lincolnshire. Our hero was the son of George Smith, a yeoman of that county, a tenant farmer, but owning at the same time freehold and tenements in the neighbourhood. The family had come originally from the north, and would seem at one time to have borne a coat of arms; but John Smith's mother Alice, at any rate, does appear to have had some claim to gentle blood. The Smiths, in short, belonged to that class which rose to importance in the Tudor period, and must often have differed very little from the small country gentry of that day, with whom, moreover, they were constantly intermingling. The farm which they held under Lord Willoughby de Eresby was situated near the village of Willoughby, and in the registers of its church is the entry of John Smith's baptism, January 9, 1580 (by modern reckoning). Four younger brothers and a sister, with the death of two of the first, and that of the father (1596), are also recorded. After an education at the grammar schools of Louth and Alford, young John Smith was apprenticed to a merchant of Lynn—Thomas Sendall—"the greatest in all those parts." Reconciled to this it would seem by mistaken anticipation

of scouring the seas in his employer's ships, he chafed at the drudgery of the counting-house which proved to be his actual lot; and after his father's death, early in 1596, succeeded in getting away to London, and demanded of his guardians a sufficient portion of his patrimony, which consisted of some freehold pasture land and a sum of money for the purpose of gratifying a desire to see the world, and was naturally refused. After some importunity, however, they gave him ten shillings to be rid of it, and with this substantial remittance he joined his patron Lord Willoughby's son, a lad then going to Orleans to complete his education, and whose brother was already domiciled there. Smith appears to have been found a superfluous factor in the young Bertie's scheme of education, and was in consequence despatched home again with a sufficient sum of money. He got no further than Paris, where a canny Scotsman of maturer years, while promising him valuable introductions in Edinburgh, succeeded in reducing his finances to zero. Smith, now in extremity, gladly embraced the offer of one Duxworthy, an English captain of free lances, to join his troop, with which he did some soldiering in Flanders. Thrown out of employment by the peace a year or two later, he started for England, but was wrecked on Holy Island and detained there by illness, brought on apparently by exposure. On recovering he made for Edinburgh, where he presented the letters of his Scotch friend, which provided him with some social entertainment, but no practical advancement: so he returned to Willoughby, where his old friends killed the fatted calf and made much of him, after which he acquired some reputation for eccentricity, by camping out in a fair pasture by a wood, with a horse, arms, and a copy of Marcus Aurelius and Machiavelli's art of war. After exercising his limbs with the first, and his mind with the second in solitude for some time, his friends urged upon him a more conventional existence, and introduced him to an accomplished Italian, in the household of the Earl of Lincoln. By means of this expert Smith transferred himself for a time to the Earl's establishment, where no doubt greater opportunities for pursuing

his martial practices existed. But this hardly suited Smith's adventurous nature, and he once more sought the Low countries in company with three strange gallants who proved swindlers, both cheating and robbing him, though not without ultimately receiving some measure of his vengeance. Stranded once more, a French soldier came generously to his assistance with guidance and money, eventually landing him at a Breton Castle, whose noble owner proved an acquaintance of the Willoughbys, treated him handsomely, and sent him on his way provided with money and introductions. These last were with a view to forwarding his desire to take service in the wars then raging between the Turks and Austrians. Travelling to Marseilles he shipped for Italy, but a fierce storm arising, the Southerners held him for a Jonah, being an alien and heretic, and flung him overboard near the small island of Santa Maria off Nice, which he reached without difficulty. Two other ships, however, were driven on shore there, and the owner of one proved a neighbour of Smith's recent benefactor, the noble Breton Ployer. So he took him on board, and after a little successful privateering, from which Smith derived his fair profit, he was landed by his own request. Once more in funds he travelled in Italy, visiting Rome among other places, and satisfying an ardent geographical curiosity which distinguished him through life. His desire to fight the Turks, however, had not waned, and in 1602 he repaired to Gratz, where Ferdinand, Archduke of Austria, afterwards Emperor, then lay. Here he was introduced to those military leaders under whom he was to serve and experience wonderful adventures during the next year or two. The Turks were then flushed by some signal successes, and were seriously threatening the Christian nations of Eastern Europe. The bloody campaigns in Transylvania and the Hungarian border, in which Smith now took part, first as a captain and then as a major of horse in the regiment of "Earl Meldritch," are related in a manner eminently stirring, and if occasionally egotistical, he is sometimes quite the reverse. He had learnt some special method of torch signalling, and won much kudos by it. The sanguinary

battles are natural enough, and as has been often pointed out, if Smith were the egregious boaster his detractors declare him, he would not so frequently omit his own name in the relation of valorous deeds that he witnessed or more or less took part in. The names of places not easily identified on a modern Government map and their spelling is sometimes cited against him. In a period when spelling as an exact science did not exist, the sounds of a foreign tongue inscribed phonetically would account for any apparent eccentricities. Imagine, for instance, an Elizabethan yeoman turned loose in Wales, and some years afterwards writing from memory the names of Machynlleth or Pwllheli as he had heard them pronounced! The highly educated Spanish Ambassador to England, writing to Philip the Third from London about Walter Raleigh whom he knew personally, seldom got nearer than Wata Wallee; and Smith's floundering among the names of the Black Sea littoral or in Transylvania, as he had long ago heard them uttered by different races, is surely a weak indictment.

The slaying of the three Turks in single combat between the assembled armies is dramatic enough to arouse the hostile critics. But the grant of arms bearing them with Sigismund's letter was at any rate passed and registered by Sir William Segar, the Garter King at Arms. That great functionary was deluded, say Smith's enemies.

The arms and the grant from Sigismundus Bathori are reproduced in this volume, and there is no occasion to discuss the strong improbability of Sir William Segar admitting an elaborate fraud in connection with it. Above all, for a man whom the same cities would have us believe was of no account. For, as a matter of fact, Smith's story of these Eastern campaigns and the main points of his own part are corroborated by, and partly taken from, *The Warres of Transilvania, Wallachia and Moldaira, written by Fransisco Ferneza, a learned Italian secretary to Sigismundus Bathori, the Prince.* These were translated by Purchas for his *Pilgrimes* four or five years before Smith wrote his *True*

Travels, and contained among other things his victory over the three Turks. And this is the chief sum of his offence as a gasconader with his critics. It is significant that one of them, an American, is apparently deceived by a form of speech used in letters and documents in those days: even among equals of position when George Smith in his will addresses himself to Lord Willoughby as his "poore tenant."

The close of Smith's military career in the East is dramatic enough, for amid the carnage created by a desperate effort of his well-loved leader, Meldritch, to cut his way through overpowering numbers, he was left for dead. Picked up alive, however, he was then chained to a slave gang and sold in the local market. Purchased by a small Turkish bashaw, he was despatched as a present to a Greek Mohammedan lady at Constantinople, labelled as a Bohemian noble, the captive of the bashaw's own bow and spear. The Turk had an eye on the lady's favour, but Smith, though he confessed his humble rank, unwillingly gained it to a sufficient extent, at any rate, for his mistress to give him his freedom in the only way she dare, and to send him up to her brother who held a Turkish fief east of the Black Sea. The brother took another view of the business, made Smith "a slave of slaves," and treated him so brutally that he beat his tormentor's brains out one day with a flail, dressed in his clothes, and turned his face westward through the hopeless wilderness. After much suffering, with the slaves' iron collar still round his neck, he reached a Russian port, where he was kindly treated, supplied with money, and sent on with the caravans to the West. Ultimately Smith found his way to Leipsic, where his old leaders Meldritch and Sigismund then were. He was welcomed as one from the dead, and readily given his arrears of pay, and more.

Well supplied now with funds, Smith had no thoughts of Lincolnshire, but followed his roving instincts to North Africa, with a view to more fighting. Finding the squabbles of the Barbary States not to his taste, he travelled on shore for some

time with a French skipper, and ultimately seeking the coast, again resolved on some sea adventures in his friend's ship. Of these they had enough and to spare. On an English captain's ship they were blown out into the Atlantic by a gale while they were supping with him in harbour. After many pretty fights, in the narration of which Smith is the reverse of egotistical, and there is much humour, they got back to the Mediterranean with some profit but much disabled, when our hero at last experiences a craving for home, and satisfies it without further misadventure.

Thus ends the early adventures of Smith, which even if they were mainly fiction would be fiction of a stimulating kind, written in delightful contemporary English. One might fairly wonder if any Englishman of twenty-four at that day had seen and done so much. It was in another continent, however, that Smith was to do the work that really mattered, and was to make his homely name ring down the ages. Many Englishmen had fought under Smith against the Turks. Two survived to be with him in Virginia, and their metrical tributes to their old leader's qualities in the East and in the West will be found in this volume, and are of much value if little merit. Smith found England seething with colonial fervour, and after an interval, of which we know nothing except that he was for a time in Ireland, he caught the prevailing enthusiasm and soon put his share of it into practical shape.

Smith's wanderings in Ireland were prompted, no doubt, by intelligent curiosity. His adverse critics have endeavoured to make capital out of a passing taunt from one of his bitter enemies in Virginia, that he had on one occasion played the beggar in Ireland. One might say that of hundreds of adventurers, young men who have been temporarily stranded for money in the wilds of Western America, for Ireland then was almost as remote and primitive as the wildest West is to-day. At any rate, in a short time he was investing in Virginia stock and going out as one of its council.

Virginia was then a somewhat vague expression, for all the North-American Atlantic coast between the "pre-empted" rather than settled French territories in Canada, and the Spanish rights in the South recognised to Florida and claimed everywhere. The period of "singeing the King of Spain's beard"—the days of Drake, Frobisher, and Hawkins, with their destruction of Spanish ships and ports, and seizing of Spanish treasure—had passed away, and given place to more solid and enduring schemes. The first measures had paved the way for the second, which aimed at permanent colonisation. Two attempts on the coast of what is now North Carolina, both sent out by Raleigh, had failed as we have seen from causes not calculated in themselves to discourage further efforts. The country had taken fire, and there was no lack of enthusiasm, though as yet it had nothing like reached its zenith. A permanent footing on the American coast was the absorbing aim of *England*—partly as a point of attack and defence against Spain on the one hand, and the foreign nations fishing off Newfoundland, which was gradually developing into an English possession; partly as a refuge for the unemployed; and lastly, with not injustifiable hopes of finding treasures similar to those which had so vastly enriched Spain in the South—and indirectly England herself.

This movement found realisation in the Royal Virginia Company, which, after much haggling with James the First, got its charter in 1606. Its bounds reached from the 34th to the 44th parallel. For the particulars of its constitution we have no occasion here, but its Council in London consisted of thirteen members and there were two separate departments, one for the Northern, or, as afterwards called the New England regime, another for the Southern or Virginia. Broadly speaking, London was mainly interested in the latter; the West of England, with its outlet at Plymouth, in the former. There is still a vague notion that Devonshire had to do with the founding of Virginia, arising probably from the futile attempts of Raleigh, or rather of Raleigh's employees. As a matter of fact London has all the credit of the

first and Southern colony which proved the cradle—due greatly, as we think to John Smith—of Anglo-Saxon America.

Smith had certainly busied himself greatly in the promotion of this undertaking, and was one of the few actual shareholders who sailed among the 105 hapless pioneers from the Thames in December 1606. A Plymouth expedition started five months afterwards for the North, but after a year's sojourn at the mouth of the Kennebec, returned baffled. With these first endeavours one source of misunderstanding which caused much suffering must be remembered. The learned geographers knew the latitudes and estimated the climate of North America from the European parallels. Virginia, for instance, they calculated would have the climate of Southern Spain; New England, that of South Britain; and the winters in both cases proved an unpleasant surprise.

Smith sailed with the first flotilla of three ships, of which a redoubtable sailor, Captain Newport, had command, while the civil power, informally as yet, was vested in Edward Maria Wingfield, a person of some social distinction above the rest, a liberal Catholic in religion, an experienced soldier, but a somewhat weak and pompous man. The company was composed of 105 colonists, and got away from the Downs on New Year's Day, 1607, by our reckoning. Some weeks and much food were wasted in the West Indies, where self-assertive no doubt among a somewhat incapable crowd, consisting largely of broken gentleman and wastrels, Smith soon showed himself a man to be reckoned with, and was put under arrest. The mouth of the Chesapeake and coast of Virginia was made at the end of April, and there the sealed box containing commissions was opened—Wingfield as expected being named president, and Smith one of the council. After some uneventful experiences with wandering natives, the colonists reached the low-lying peninsular forty miles up the James River estuary, which was to become the scene of so much suffering, drama, and death, and the cradle of Anglo-Saxon North America—the historic Jamestown. Joined to the shore by a narrow neck, it had strategical virtues but no sanitary ones. Here, all equipped in men and

material, was begun the rude settlement that for three-quarters of a century was to be the capital of Virginia. The delight of this ill-assorted company at the glories of a Virginia May-time soon gave way to the stern realities which few of them were fit to face. Solemn formalities of Church and State were punctiliously observed in this alfresco town, but the rest was mostly chaos. These hundred and five exiles, superfluous, soft-handed sons of small squires and such like, with a stiffening of dubious working men and old soldiers, were supposed to fight the wilderness in return for a precarious allowance of rations. No stimulus to individual energy was present, when the hope of picking up pearls and gold had been dissipated. Their expectations have been a time-honoured historic joke, and most historians are probably not aware that there is actually a gold belt running right down Virginia a hundred miles from the coast into North Carolina; that it has been at many points systematically and scientifically worked for several generations to the moderate profit of some and the loss of many. So the infatuated gallants, who were mostly lying beneath the weedy sod of Jamestown before the year was out, were near gold after all—though neither in the dirt nor in the quartz of such kind as they could have extracted much profit from.

Virginia, speaking broadly, consists of three strips running parallel with the coast, each of them about a hundred miles in width. The first is Tidewaler, where tidal rivers wind through a flat or gently undulating country to the sea; the second, now known as Piedmont, a land of hill and dale, in contour and colouring when cleared for settlement not unlike Devonshire, and threaded by rapid streams and brooks. The third, occupied by the continuous wooded ranges of the Alleghanies, rising to four and five thousand feet in height. The whole of this region, like the rest of the Atlantic belt of North America, was covered with primeval forest.

The rough beginnings of Jamestown were hardly started when Smith ascended the James River about sixty miles to the head of tide water, with vague notions among other things of a strait

through to the Pacific or "South Sea," the discovery of which was one object of the Virginia Company. Here he and Newport were brought up sharply by those miles of rocks and rapids upon which Richmond now looks down from its commanding hills. Here at that time was an Indian village, where the historic Powhatan, the chief of chiefs among James River tribes, was temporarily quartered. Mountains the Indians could tell of westward but no sea, for a friendly native was already developing into an interpreter. The interest of this first contact with the English and the red man, the humours of their mutual attitude, and its delightful narration by our hero and others, will surely fascinate the reader, and carry him through all the quaint pages of this volume. The sordid jealousies among this handful of ill-assorted and ill-equipped Englishmen—all the headier and more quarrelsome perhaps in their suffering from the very fact they were free-born Englishmen, without discipline or definite aim—by no means destroys the pathos and romance that will always cling to the memory of these hapless pioneers of American civilisation. Well-fed meat eaters and ale drinkers of the Elizabethan period flung into the long, fierce heats of an Eastern Virginia summer, on rations which were soon reduced to a half pint of worm-eaten barley a day boiled in water, and nothing to drink but the brackish water of the James, with an occasional meal of fish.

Add to this the strange and unaccustomed labour of providing defensive works and shelters for themselves. Under the pressure of one serious attack, at least, from hostile Indians, clearing and cultivating land was at present out of the question. Newport left them in June, with provisions already damaged by the protracted sea voyage, for ninety days. They had to last for twice that period: at the end of it 30 out of the 105 remained alive.

Deer and wild turkeys were in the woods, but how should these unskilled woodsmen, as they pathetically ask, compass the destruction of game rendered wild by the numerous settlements of Indians, who regularly hunted them? Fever did its deadly work, and it was not till late autumn when the wild fowl from the North—

which there visited and still visit in great numbers the tidal waters of Virginia—and the ripened corn crop bought from the Indians, made men again of the remnant that was left.

The leading characters in the drama stand out distinctly. Newport, the skilled and reliable sea captain who went and came from England, and formed the "go-between" of the impatient company in London and its struggling employees. Wingfield, opinionative and unpractical, doing his utmost to prevent any fortification—the first necessity—being erected, lest it should hurt the feelings of the Indians, whose susceptibility to anything but respectful fear was understood by the wiser even in those days. Archer, the feeble joker and lawyer who wanted to hang Smith according to Levitical Law, because in the notable adventure which was over Pocahontas, and eventually saved the Colony, some of his followers had got themselves killed through disobeying his orders. Ratcliffe, who had an *alias* and was distressed on that account, as well as others. Kendal, suspected of being a Spanish spy, who was executed by the colonists for a plot against the public good, being denounced by the blacksmith as he was actually putting his own head into the noose for treachery, and thereby saving his life. George Percy, brother to the Earl of Northumberland, a good fellow on the whole, loyal to the Colony and a long abiding figure in it, but not over strong in character. Martin, respectable in character but frail in body. Hunt, the devoted minister; and lastly, Smith's sturdy supporters Phettiplace, Todkill and others, utility men who were ever ready to assist in his sensible measures.

Wingfield was deposed in September, and Ratcliffe became nominally president of the survivors, now huddled in rude shelters on the malarial peninsula, stockaded from the mainland. Smith, however, was the moving spirit, and the qualities of leadership shine through his writings even were there no other witnesses. It was he who traded for corn with the suspicious and uncertain Indians along the coasts, when hunger pinched and starvation threatened. And it was he at the close of the year who went exploring up the Chickahomony, and while some way in

advance and alone fell into the hands of Powhatan's warriors, after an exciting fight with overpowering numbers. For nearly a month Smith was carried about the country, on exhibition from tribe to tribe, sometimes threatened with death, sometimes well treated, till he was brought up for final judgment before the great Powhatan himself, at his regal wigwam on the banks of the York River. Cheery, resourceful, and always observant, he was now, it appeared, actually to suffer the fate which, by Indian custom, was inevitable to a man who had slain tribesmen as Smith had done, while resisting capture on the Chickahomony. Then came the scene with which every schoolboy, every American schoolboy at any rate, is familiar. Smith's head was actually laid on the fatal stone, and the clubs raised to beat his brains out, when Powhatan's favourite daughter, Pocahontas, a girl of twelve or thirteen, seized the victim's head in her arms and averted the coming blow. She did not risk her life, but merely exercised the right common to the women of Indian tribes, old or young, and claimed his person and his life as her own property and for adoption into the tribe. Her tender age and all that we know of Smith's relation towards her is suggestive of pity rather than of sexual love as the prompter of this act, which was within her rights. The great importance of this incident, not merely to Smith, but to the struggling colony in general, and what it owed to the romantic friendship of this young Indian girl, becomes clear enough as the story of Jamestown proceeds.

But it is on the veracity of this famous incident that Smith's literary detractors base one of their gravest accusations against him. And at first sight it seems a most plausible one. No one denies the general facts of Smith's captivity, for his enemy, the deposed Wingfield, has left record of it, or how he was carried about from tribe to tribe. But the weak spot in the Pocahontas incident lies in the fact that Smith wrote the two accounts of this period, "The True Relation" and "The General History" at different dates. The first was written immediately after his deliverance in 1608, to a friend (unknown) in England and was published there, though

with the editor's note that certain things had been suppressed. In this account no mention is made of the Pocahontas intervention, nor of ill-treatment by his captors, while in the "General History" published in 1624, long after his return to England, Smith relates it at length. Adverse critics affirm that Smith invented it. They ignore the fact that strict orders had been given by the London Company that nothing should be published likely to frighten intending colonists, and that the publisher of Smith's first letter had implied that something was left out. The late Professor Fiske makes an admirable point in the fact that George Percy, whose reputation for wisdom had suffered somewhat in the "General History," and who the next year wrote a pamphlet hostile to it and to Smith, would have seized with delight on such a monstrous fable if, as one of the original Jamestown colonists, he had not known it to be true; whereas he made no allusion to it whatever. As to the incident itself, so far from having the fairy tale aroma about it that a European or Oriental stage might suggest, it was quite in accordance with a recognised custom among the North American Indians, and would be found occurring frequently in subsequent narratives of adventure or war among them. This custom was thoroughly understood and recognised in later times, and it is in favour of Smith's credibility that he relates his story in evident ignorance that his escape was anything but an almost supernatural interposition of Providence. The fact that he was kindly treated and well fed though doomed to die, might be strange in the case of Asiatics or Africans; but the hapless prisoners of Red Indians were quite often well fed and cared for, that they might have more vitality to suffer the awful tortures to which they were generally doomed—for these were inflicted not from personal animosity, but as a recognised sport, mainly for the benefit of the women. Smith got back to Jamestown early in January on the very day Newport arrived with what is known as "The First Supply," and just in time to prevent Master Archer—who seems to have exercised full influence over Ratcliffe, the president—from trying, at any rate, to hang Smith as before mentioned for the loss of his disobedient

men, the details of which will be found in the text. One of Smith's most conspicuous detractors goes so far as to extol this Ratcliffe (or Sicklemore as his real name seems to have been), and the officious attorney Archer, as patriots, though Wingfield himself denounces the latter as the most blatant of mischief-makers. The stout old Newport, however, arrived in time to put an end to such preposterous antics, and when he left, carried Archer with him as well as Wingfield. The first supply consisted of 130 men, 24 of whom were styled *gentlemen*, and a good store of provisions.

On the whole the "First Supply" was of worse quality than the original company; and with true British obstinacy refused to learn wisdom from the experience of the others, preferring to pay for it later in the loss of their health and lives. The second ship of this "Supply" had been driven back by tempests to the West Indies, and came in later with 70 more people.

More corn was now urgently needed, and Smith, in company with Newport, visited his friend and adopted chieftain Powhatan, again paying for it with glass beads or copper. Smith made two long exploring expeditions this summer up the Chesapeake Bay and reached the Potomac, and while on these surveys made the first map of Virginia here printed and identified with his name. During his absence things went amiss at Jamestown, and on his return Ratcliffe was deposed and Smith became president.

Newport returned in September with 70 more persons, including two women. The mortality during this second summer had been kept below thirty souls, or only twenty per cent. of the whole. The council at home, still full of the impossible theories that men so often have—whose interests are in continents they have never seen—now took to scolding, and Newport arrived with peremptory orders to find gold or the South Sea, whereupon Smith broke out into strong language. With a much more hopeless fatuity the English directors had decided to crown Powhatan—sending out the insignia and a suite of bedroom furniture to cement the dignity. As His Majesty would not come

to Jamestown, Smith and Newport with an armed force had to go to Werowocomoco bearing all this untoward paraphernalia. The coronation is perhaps the most humorous event, both in its inception and performance, in colonial history. How they had to press down the shoulders of the savage monarch, since the action of kneeling suggested vague notions of indignity to his untutored mind, and hurriedly clap the crown on his head. How they dressed him to his great dissatisfaction in a scarlet robe, and terminated the burlesque with a *feu de joie*, which sent him howling with terror into the woods, to return half pacified and solemnly present them with his old shoes. When Newport returned, Smith sent back to the Company his completed map and his "rude answer."

The returning ship was freighted with a strange cargo indeed this time, for a gold mania had broken out owing to the discovery of a yellow dirt, not uncommon in the streams and springs in Virginia, which was thought to be impregnated with the precious metal, and a load sent to England, to the ultimate disappointment of the poor exiles and the disgust of the Company when the truth was known. Smith seems to have held aloof from this enterprise and regarded it with contempt. Some of the soldier writers in these volumes tell humorous stories of how Smith tried to initiate the "gallants" into cutting down trees; how heartily and merrily they went at it, how soon their poor hands blistered, and how a loud oath accompanied each ill-directed blow, till the president established a penalty in the shape of a jug of cold water to be poured down their sleeve for each recorded oath. But all on such occasions we are told was good humour; and indeed it is almost the only little touch of fun or frolic that enlivens the dreary and pathetic struggle of these ill-found and ill-fitted pioneers, unless indeed the crowning of Powhatan may be accounted an entertainment.

Smith's "rude answer," forwarded to the Company in London by Newport on the latter's return in the autumn of 1608, will be found full of sound sense. He spoke of the insensate factions that

made a hard job much harder. He begged them to remember that the Indians could only be trusted as long as the fear of the white men was in them. He prayed for the despatch of some practical men—farmers, carpenters, or blacksmiths. Thirty of these would be better than a thousand of such feckless souls as now stood face to face with Indians and starvation. The latter had become suspicious of the evidently permanent intentions of this settlement of pale faces, if not alarmed. They knew that on their corn alone the subsistence of the Colony depended, and began to look askance at beads and copper. Individual settlers, thoughtless of the morrow, were trading off by stealth all the tools and implements vital to their existence, and even arms and weapons. Corn had to be forced out of the Indians to avert starvation, and the expeditions for this purpose required a leader at once conciliatory and tactful, but firm and fearless. How Smith achieved these, secured supplies sufficient for the winter, awed the numerous tribes of Indians into a neutral attitude, and finally increased and solidified the buildings and defences of Jamestown, dug wells and cleared land sufficient for a prospective corn crop, is all set forth by himself and others in simple, manly fashion. But in April, the second of the Colony's history, a new and unforeseen curse fell upon them in the shape of rats, which had been brought over in the various ships, and increased so rapidly as to play utter havoc in the granaries. Fresh foraging for corn had to be ventured ; but the Indians, even when friendly, were themselves by this time short of it. Under these conditions Smith found it necessary to scatter the settlers in groups to live as they could by fishing and gathering berries in the woods. It was this summer, too, that Argyll, a ship's commander who had thenceforward much to do with Virginia, arrived, bringing word that the Virginia Company had been reconstructed. Indeed, that very June a fleet of nine ships carrying 500 emigrants of both sexes had left the Thames. Lord Delaware under the title of Governor of Virginia, was to come later. Newport had charge of the flotilla, though Sir Thomas Gates and Sir George Somers,

Lieutenant-Governor and Admiral, were with it in the *Sea Venture.* The fleet was shattered by a hurricane. Most of the ships, however, arrived at Jamestown, but the *Sea Venture*, containing the two high officials for the Colony, was wrecked on the then unknown Bermudas. Gates and Somers were detained there ten months, during which they built a couple of pinnaces and managed ultimately to reach Jamestown. In the meantime there was no one to depose Smith, though the old mischief-makers Archer and Ratcliffe had turned up; and backed by a clamorous horde of ignorant new settlers, the latter called on the president to resign in his favour. That astute veteran, however, backed now by a trusty following of some thirty old settlers, so far from complying, arrested Ratcliffe as a disturber of the peace. This fresh supply of emigrants seems to have been of even worse quality than ever. They were too numerous for effectual restraint; they quarrelled with the Indians, aroused their enmity, and numbers of them lost their lives. They wasted their supplies, produced nothing, and in short repeated all the follies of the first colonists on a scale more serious from their greater numbers. By the following winter they had brought themselves to the verge of starvation, and were beginning to devour the dead, till a man being at last discovered eating his own wife, whose limbs he had salted, the haggard survivors were shocked into sanity and burned him at the stake, the wretched victim throwing his bible into the flames, and crying out, "Alas, there is no God!" When Gates and Somers arrived, they found 60 miserable survivors almost too weak to stand. It was then decided to abandon the Colony and return to England. On June 7, 1610, the whole company—newcomers and survivors—went on board and set sail down the river. A melancholy band representing, so it might well seem, the wretched funeral of hopes that had stirred England to its depths for years. Never in history, perhaps, has there been a more providential and dramatic incident than now occurred. For as the miserable fugitives neared Old Point Comfat they met Lord Delaware, the first Governor of Virginia, with three ships well

supplied with men and stores coming to their relief. All was now changed. Jamestown was reoccupied with renewed hope, and though much had to be done and much suffered, Virginia was never again in serious danger; but well sustained by the New Company, with men, money, and stores, and well governed, went steadily forward till the planting of tobacco assured her prosperity, and made her a distinguished Colony and the mother of distinguished sons.

But in the meantime Smith had left the Colony in 1609, the year preceding this critical incident and the disaster which brought it on. For whilst returning down the James River from a careful inspection of the site where Richmond now stands, with a view to moving the Colony thither from its unhealthy situation at Jamestown, a bag of powder exploded in his boat and injured him so seriously that a return to England was necessary. So in October this staunch pillar and saviour of the struggling colony left it, as it turned out, for ever. As a matter of fact he had done his work. The reconstituted Company in London—after the crisis of 1610 was over—was powerful enough to govern and protect Virginia during the rapid development brought about by the tobacco industry and the immigration it attracted.

The Pocahontas story is, of course, by far the most luminous feature of this early Virginia settlement in the mind of the general public, vague enough though any knowledge of its details may be. It does deserve, however, some further importance than the mere beauty of the incident merits, for the violent affection of whatsoever nature that Pocahontas conceived for Smith, and her consequent friendship for the English on more than one occasion, seems very probably to have been the means of saving the Colony from destruction. More than once she warned them of her father's treacherous designs, and during periods of distress she constantly conveyed corn by stealth to the starving settlers, so long as Smith was there.

How Argall kidnapped her after Smith's departure, and brought her to Jamestown as a hostage for Powhatan's good

behaviour; how she afterwards married the widower Rolfe, a gentleman settler and the first to plant tobacco in Virginia; and how she came to England, was fêted at Court, and treated as a princess of royal blood, will be found herein fully described. Her interview with Smith in England, and finally her death from pulmonary disease while on the point of returning to the more congenial clime of her native Virginia, lends additional pathos to a story which has no parallel in our colonial annals. The public-house sign of La Belle Sauvage, still recalls the memory of the gentle Indian maid and matron, while many Virginian families are descended from her son, who, educated in England, went out later and settled in the Colony.

Smith remained for some time in England. The Virginia colonists, as we have seen, got themselves into dire trouble after his departure. He could not have been altogether a *persona grata* to the London Company, for he had given them much unasked-for advice of a sound nature, which they had not followed, and suffered accordingly. When Lord Delaware went out, it was in accordance with the aristocratic tendencies of the Stuart period, that rank was indispensable to important command of any sort. There was no place for the yeoman's son in future, now the Colony was safe. And as a subordinate, with so many ready-made enemies, Smith might well have been a cause of faction. He retained his interest, however, in the Company, and seems to have been occasionally consulted. In 1613 he accepted the command of two ships from London merchants of the Virginia Company, on a voyage of exploration to New England, with instructions to find gold mines —a quest Smith had some contempt for—kill whales, and collect furs. He returned in six months with some sort of cargo, but what was more valuable, with careful surveys and maps of the coast made by himself. Two years afterwards Smith offended the Londoners by refusing the command of a larger expedition to New England, where fisheries were the chief object of interest. He declared himself in favour of all such expeditions starting from Plymouth—firstly, as the then troublesome Thames and Channel

navigation was avoided; and secondly, because the west countrymen were the better fishermen. His last voyage was made from Plymouth to New England, after many disappointments, in a barque of thirty tons, and abounded in adventures that must have reminded him of his youthful days in the Mediterranean and the Bay of Biscay. In the meantime Smith was made Admiral of New England, and made many futile attempts to promote the systematic colonisation of that region; and apparently spent all his time writing his books and travelling about, distributing them and his maps, and stimulating a patriotic desire for oversea dominion among Englishmen. The famous* Puritan exodus springing from quite other sources in 1620, crossed the line, as it were, of his and his merchant friends' endeavours, and though it succeeded, the frightful sufferings experienced during the first winter were, no doubt, due to the exclusive and amateur nature of the enterprise.

Smith died unmarried in 1631, aged fifty-one, only possessed apparently of his original share in the Lincolnshire estate, and was buried in the choir of St Sepulchre's Church. A monument was erected over his remains, inscribed with a voluminous epitaph preserved for us by Stow, for the church was destroyed in the great fire of 1661.

This brief sketch of a great and insufficiently appreciated Englishman has seemed necessary, from the fact of Smith's works being arranged in the chronological order of their production and not in that of the achievements related. And, moreover, there is inevitable repetition as well as discrepancies in dates and minor matters, due doubtless to the fact that some accounts were written while the events were fresh in the mind, and others many years after, when memory had failed somewhat. The *True Travels*, for instance, covering the most dramatic and earliest portion of Smith's life—his European experiences in short—was not published till 1629-30, and finds its place in consequence almost at the end of these volumes. These chapters, however, stand alone, and may be read without reference to any others. What is known, however, as

* This term is used in a general, not particular, sense.

the "True Relation" is Smith's account of the doings of the Virginians till 1608, embodied in a letter already mentioned as sent home by him to England, and published by a friend, possibly the Rev. W. Simmonds. Next, in 1612, came *a map of Virginia, with* a description of the country from Smith's pen, a pamphlet purely descriptive of the natural features of the country, and neither historical nor autobiographical. In the same year, published with the other, was Simmonds' fuller *Proceedings of the English Colony in Virginia from their first beginning till the year* 1612. This book is compiled from the testimony of various members of the Colony, whose names are attached to it. It covers the same ground as the "True Relation," but extends three years later.

Then came the three works in succession on New England, published by Smith in 1616, 1620, and 1622 respectively. These as regards Smith's personal adventures all relate to his two voyages to New England, amplified by letters to various people and numerous observations and criticisms. Then in 1624 came the *General Historie of Virginia*, in six books, much the largest work, part of it a reprint of Simmonds' and Smith's book on the same subject published twelve years previously.

The first book of the "General History" relates to the many voyages and unsuccessful attempts to settle Virginia before Smith's time. Books II. and III. are the reprints with variations of Smith's period in Virginia, above alluded to. Book IV. carries on the history of the Colony from the time he left it till 1624. Book V. is a history of the discovery and settlement of the Bermudas or Somer Isles, and Book VI. relates wholly to New England, with a map and reprint, with variations of the three works on the same subject before mentioned as published between 1616 and 1620.

There remains only the *Accidence for Young Seamen* published in 1626, an isolated work, and in 1631 *Advertisements for the unexperienced Planters of New England or anywhere, etc.*, appeared as Smith's last effort. Then there are some thirty poems by twenty-five different authors, most of them eulogistic dedications to Smith by comrades and admirers who had toiled with him or

served under him. Many hostile critics of Smith, as of most other national heroes, have arisen in recent times, and as many of at least equal weight have sprung to his defence. The former have seized with avidity on every discrepancy of date and obscureness in topographical orthography, and cited quite possible exaggeration as proof positive that their author was a kind of Baron Munchausen. While contemporary evidence they explain away by convenient theories of their own, which sometimes evince a grievous lack of touch with the social conditions of England in Smith's day. Some of them again are so rabid as wholly to weaken their case. They even seem insensible to the charm and merits of Smith's literary work—of which any reader may judge—of his patriotic fervour, his common-sense, his keen powers of observation, which again and again would strike home to the practical pioneer even in these widely different times. Nothing in the world arouses jealousies, misunderstandings, bitterness of heart, among associates and employees, more than co-operative enterprises in untried and remote regions. How much more was this the case in the ignorant sanguine efforts of three centuries ago needs no saying. At this day, with every advantage of rapid communication and systematic information, the action of stay-at-home directors and even government departments wears out oftentimes the patience and the spirit of those upon the spot who "bear the burden and heat of the day," and leads betimes to great disasters. Smith's attitude to the Virginia Company in London, is an old and familiar story by no means out of date in its general aspect. The successful intrigues of good-for-nothing colonists and employees, whose enmity should have been his highest testimonial, and the indifference of the Company to his services, are eminently typical of all periods of colonisation. Though to the students and the scholars who naturally have had the handling of Smith's reputation this point of view only is apt to appeal in conventional and academic fashion. In conclusion, it may be worth noting that the criticism of American students either for or against Smith derives no value over that of their British confreres in the same path from a Transatlantic

environment, unless it be in pointing out more strongly than the others, how much in keeping with the traditional habits of the Red Indians were Smith's adventures and encounters with them, and for a greater appreciation of the accuracy of Smith's observations and maps.

As a matter of fact, none of these things are disputed or affect the question. The contentious ground is mainly in Europe, and chiefly concerns the publishing, bookselling, social and commercial world of early Jacobean London. No one has worked harder in this field on account of Smith, or had greater advantages than Edward Arber, and his conclusions are well known. If the personal note may be pardoned in such a place as this, I should like to say that the present writer, though an Englishman, spent some dozen years in the same historic valley, though higher up it, in which Smith and his fellow colonists three centuries ago faced the trials of the wilderness. To any one thus situated the impressions made upon the latter, of this fair country, so faithfully and naïvely recorded, are of peculiar interest. Generations of slaveholders, occasionally the regenerate descendants of the later "supplies" living along the banks of the James in not unpicturesque or undignified isolation, have contributed in some sort to retain the romance that will ever hang about Virginia, and especially this region of the James River. Indeed, the counties around the lower James have in the main lost most even of that great rural animation and leisurely well-being that distinguished them through the eighteenth and much of the nineteenth century. The cataclysm caused by the late Civil War and the downfall of slavery was nowhere greater, and scarcely anywhere so great, as here. The seats of that society which represented the full development of the Virginia of Smith and his contemporaries know it no more. Nor, on the other hand, could any echo of prosperous and modern America a few years ago, at any rate, have been heard there. It was by comparison a deserted country, thinly covered with the despondent-looking relics of a regime that had passed away for ever, and for the like of which there

never again could be any place. That industry and prosperity of a different kind may, nay, already is in parts claiming it again, is not pertinent to these pages. The remnants of the forests through which John Smith and his companies wandered, and Pocahontas frisked with her maidens, the thin, sad-looking, weedy fields which generations of their successors cultivated with generations of, on the whole, cheerful negroes, were, within recent memory, as harmonious a setting as the cracked gravestones and fragments of masonry which mark the site of Jamestown, could possibly have in that bustling new world of which East Virginia even yet remains very much of a backwater.

A. G. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

JOHN SMITH'S published writings comprise eight books, the titles of which were as follows:—*A True Relation of such Occurrences and Accidents of Note as hath hapned in Virginia since the first planting of that Colony*, London, 1608. This was first attributed to a gentleman of the colony, secondly to Thomas Watson, and was not assigned to Smith until 1615. In this work no mention is made of the rescue by Pocahontas, —referred to incidentally as a child of ten, who not only for feature, countenance, and proportion greatly exceeded the rest of her countrywomen, but was "the only nonpareil of the country." The *Relation* was followed by a geographical treatise, *A Map of Virginia, with a Description of the Country*, Oxford, 1612,[1] written by Captain Smith, edited by W[iliam] S[immonds]. Four years later appeared *A Description of New England*, London, 1616, which attained to the honour of a German translation in 1628. Some of the same material was used in *New England Trials* (written during his French captivity), London, 1620, of which a second and enlarged edition appeared in 1622. A more important work was *The General History of Virginia, New England, and The Summer Isles*, London, 1624, reprinted in 1626, 1627, and 1632. In this work the account of Captain Smith's escape from the Indians in January 1608 is greatly embellished. It is perhaps no injustice to Smith to say that it was improved, for the laudable purpose of presenting Pocahontas in the most favourable light during her visit to England and the Court during the winter of 1616-1617. This improved version was naturally

[1] See Madan, *Early Oxford Press*, p. 82.

embodied in the *General History*, where the princess is represented as the good genius of the settlers at Jamestown.

The *General History* was followed by *An Accidence, or the Pathway to Experience necessary for all young Seamen*, London, 1626, recast in the following year, and enlarged probably by another hand under the title, *The Seaman's Grammar*, or, *A Sea Grammar*, both works and all three titles appearing in use side by side. In 1630 appeared Smith's much debated autobiography, entitled, *The True Travels, Adventures, and Observations of Captain John Smith in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America, from Anno Domini* 1593 *to* 1629, *together with a Continuation of his General History of Virginia*, issued in London about a year before his death, and here reprinted with Smith's other works in full. There remained only, *Advertisements for the Unexperienced Planters of New England*, London, 1631. A fuller bibliographical account of these writings, and of their complicated interrelation, is given in Professor E. Arber's elaborate introduction to the original reprint of them in the *English Scholar's Library* of 1884.

After Smith's own works, which constitute the sole authority for many of his exploits, the most valuable contemporary sources are Newport's *Discoveries in Virginia*, first published in 1860 in the fourth volume of *Archaeologia Americana;* Wingfield's *Discourse of America*, in the same collection; and Spelman's *Relation of Virginia* (printed London, 1872). Slightly later in origin are Robert Johnson's *New Life of Virginia*, 1612, and Whitaker's *Good Newes from Virginia*, 1613. These chronicles of eye-witnesses were followed in the eighteenth century by Keith's *History of Virginia*, 1738, and by the valuable and well-documented *History of the First Discovery and Settlement of Virginia*, by William Stith, Williamsburgh, 1747 (with which should further be collated Samuel Adams Drake, *On the Making of Virginia*, 1894, and the new volumes of *Virginia Company Records*, issued in 1906).

Since Thomas Fuller expressed doubt of the veracity of Captain Smith in his *Worthies*, Mr Charles Deane, in his *Notes on*

Wingfield's Discourse of America, printed at Boston in 1859, was the first to impugn Captain Smith's latest version of his emotional rescue by Pocahontas. Mr Deane repeated and accentuated his historic doubts in a note to an edition of Smith's *True Relation* of 1866, and the same view was supported by Edward Duffield Neill, in his *Virginia Company of London* (Vol. v., printed separately as *Pocahontas and her Companions*, London, 1869), and in the same writer's valuable work on *The English Colonisation of America*, 1871. Charles Dudley Warner, in his *Study of the Life and Writings of John Smith* in 1881, treats the Pocahontas episode with sceptical levity. Deane's views were also supported by Henry Adams, in the *North American Review*, January 1867; by Henry Cabot Lodge, in his *English Colonies in America*, 1881; by Justin Winsor, in the third volume of his *History of America*; and with some reservations by J. Gorham Palfrey, in his *History of New England*, 1866, and by Mr J. A. Doyle, in his *English in America: Virginia*, 1882. Bancroft found a place for the story in the narrative of his *History* down to 1879, when in the centenary edition of his *History of the United States*, he abandoned it, without expressing judgment. Coit Tyler, in his *History of American Literature* of 1879, laments that the "pretty story" of Smith and his fair rescuer, as depicted in stone as a relief upon the capital at Washington, should have lost historical credit. S. R. Gardiner, in his *History of England* in 1883, similarly regrets this piece of demolition by historical investigators. Alexander Brown, in his scholarly *Genesis of the United States of America* (Vol. ii., 1890), takes an even more pessimistic view. The balance of trained opinion was then, until quite lately, clearly in favour of treating the rescue incident as a poetic figment.

An attempt at the strictest impartiality is maintained in the *Memoir* of Captain Smith, by Charles Kiltridge True (New York, 1882), in Appleton's *Cyclopædia of American Biography*, 1888; and in the memoirs of John Rolfe (husband of Pocahontas) and John Smith, in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

But Captain Smith has found warm defenders of the general

sincerity of his narrative, and even of the substantial correctness of the Pocahontas episode, in Professor Arber, in his edition of Smith's *Writings*, and also in his elaborate memoir of Smith, in the twenty-second volume of the *Encyclopædia Britannica;* in Mr William Wirt Henry, an eloquent champion of the Powhatan story, in his *Address to the Virginia Historical Society*, of February 1882; in Mr John Ashton, who published a *recueil* of *Smith's Adventures and Discourses* in 1883; in Mr Wyndham Robertson's not perhaps entirely impartial researches into the credibility of his heroine's achievement, in *Pocahontas and her Descendants*, 1887; in J. Poindexter's *Captain John Smith and his Critics* of 1893; in John Fiske's *Old Virginia and her Neighbours* (2 vols. 1897); in the numerous papers and essays dealing with the tercentenary of the founding of Virginia in *Scribner's* and other American magazines during 1907-8; and in Mr A. G. Bradley's monograph on *Captain John Smith*, in the *English Men of Action Series*, of 1905.

Less critical presentations of the exploits of Captain John Smith, based for the most part upon his own *True Travels* and *General History*, have appeared as follows:—*The Life and Extraordinary Adventures of Captain John Smith*, by J. Bilknap [1820]; *A Life of Captain John Smith*, by G. S. Hillard (in Sparks's *Library of American Biography*), 1834; *Captain John Smith*, by W. Gilmore Simms, New York, 1846; *John Smith of Virginia*, by George C. Hill, New York, 1858; *The True Story of John Smith*, by Katharine Pearson Woods (with portraits), London, 1901; *The Adventures of Captain John Smith, Captain of Two Hundred and Fifty Horse, and Sometime President of Virginia*, by E. P. Roberts (with illustrations and maps, based directly upon the 2 vol. issue of this reprint in 1884), London, 1902; *Captain John Smith* (an attempt to retell the story), New York, 1904.

T. S.

INTRODUCTION

BY PROF. E. ARBER

EARLY LIFE. 1593-1604 A.D.

Vincere est vivere. Accordamus.

JOHN SMITH "descended of ye Family of *Cuardly* in Lancashire" is the record of Sir WILLIAM SEGAR, Garter King of Arms, in 1625, see *p.* xxiv.

As our Author never went to any University, the most reliable information respecting his family will be found in his father's Will, and the entries in the parish registry of Willoughby *juxta* Alford, in Lincolnshire.

Mr. JOHN SWAN, the present District Registrar of the Probate Court, at Lincoln, states there are no Wills in his charge, of any SMITH at Willoughby in 1592 or 1593; and has obligingly furnished the following copy of GEORGE SMITH's Will of 1596.

In the Name of God, Amen. In the thyrtyth day of Marche a thowsande five hundreth ninety six I *George Smith* of *Willougbie juxta Alford* on *Marisco* in the Countie of *Lincolne* beinge of good and perfect memorie I thanke God for itt thoughe in bodie weake and paynde doe ordeyne and make this my last Will and Testamentt in maner and forme followinge *Fyrst* I bequeathe my Soule into the mercifull hands of th[e]almightie God in the mediation of *Jesus Chryst* myne alone and all sufficientt saviour, and my bodie to be buried within *Willoughbie* Churche

Item I give to *Lincoln* Minster vj*d.*

Item to ye poore of ye foresaide *Willoughbie* iijs. iiij*d.*

Item I give to ye Right Honorable my Lord *Willoughbie* under whome I have many yeares lived as his poore tennant as a token of my dewtifull good will the best of my two yeares old colts

Item I geve and bequeathe unto *Alice* my Wyfe ye ferme which I now dwell in which I houlde by coppie of Court rowle as ye grant of ye Right Honorable my foresaide good Lorde duringe her widdow hoode accordinge to ye custome of his Lordshippe manner of *Willoughbie*; and if it shall please God that my saide Wyfe doe marry agayne and take a second husband, then my Will is that my saide ferme shall come to *John Smyth* my eldest sonne whome I chardge and command to honoure and love my foresaide good Lord *Willoughbie* duringe his lyfe

Item I geve to *Alice Smyth* my Wyfe tenne pounds of good and

lawfull currant mony of *England* to be paide unto her att ye quarter off a yeares end next after my deathe

Item I will and bequeathe unto ye saide *Alice* my Wyfe a bedsteade in ye first Chamber with a fetherbedd a coveringe a paire of lynne[n] sheets one blanckett a bowlster with pillow and pillowe beare

Item I geve to *Alice Smyth* my doughter tenn pownds of good and lawfull currant monie of *England*, with a bedstead in the parler and a fetherbedd and coveringe and a blanckett a paire of lynne[n] sheets and a pare of hempen sheets with boulster pillow and pillow beares

Item I give to the saide *Alice* my doughter halfe of all my pewter and brasse And if ye saide *Alice* my daughter doe dye before ye age of eighteene yeares, I will that all her parte and porcion aswell of money as of other things be equally devided betweene myne executors

Item I geve and bequeathe to *Robert Smyth* my Kynsman fourty shillings of good and lawfull currant monye of *England* to be given him within one halfe yeare next after my death

Item I geve to *John Smyth* mine eldest sonne and to ye heires of his body lawfully begotten Seaven acres of pasture lyenge within ye territoare of *Charleton* Magne

Item I geve to *Frauncis Smyth* my younger sonne and to ye heires of his bodie lawfully begotten my two tenements and one Little Close in a certeyn Streete in *Lowthe* called Westgate And if ye saide *Frauncis* dye without issue of his bodie lawfully begotten I will that ye saide tenements and close remaine to my said sonne *John Smyth* and his issue of his bodie lawfully begotten

All ye rest of my goods nott yett given nor bequeathed aswell moveable as unmoveable; my debts paied and my bodie honestly brought to ye grounde I will shall equally be devided betwixt my saide two sonnes *John Smyth* and *Frauncis Smyth* whome I make the Coexecutors of this my last Will and Testament: and I hartely and earnestly entreate my goode Frende Master *George Mettham*, to be ye supervisor of this my last Will and Testament to whome I give in consideracon of his paynes xs

Wittnesses to this last Will and Testament

Thomas Scarboroughe and *Bartholomew Lawrence*

[*Extracted from the District Registry attached to the Probate Division of the High Court of Justice at Lincoln.*]

The parish register of Willoughby by Alford in Lincolnshire begins in 1538; but the earlier portion of it is very worn, and in parts, very illegible. In the seventeenth century, however, a transcript was made of this earlier portion, which still exists.

By the kindness of the present Rector, the Rev. John S. Warren, M.A., we are enabled to give the following information of our author's family.

Iohn the sonne of *George Smyth* was baptized the ixth daie of Ianuarye [1579, *or according to the modern reckoning* 1580].

This occurs in the original register thus.

Iōhes smith filius Georgie smith babtizatus fuit ixth die Ianuarie Anno supradicto.

Francis the sonne of *George Smyth* was baptised the vi daie of Nouember [1581].

Richard, the sonne of *George Smyth* was baptised the xvi daie of Iulie [1586].

Richard Smith was bur[ied] ye xxvi daie of Iulie [1586].

Alice the daughter of *George Smith* was baptised the first daie of ffebruarie [1589].

Georg[e] Smyth of Willoughbi was bur[ied] ye iij day of April [1596].

The original registry of this entry is not now extant.

With these entries we may associate another, which perhaps refers to some connection with our Author's family.

Grace the daughter of *Iohn Smyth* was baptized the x daie of November [1581].

II.

And truly there is no pleasure comparable to that of a generous spirit; as good employment in noble actions, especially amongst Turks, Heathens and Infidels; to see daily new countries, people, fashions, governments, stratagems; to relieve the oppressed, comfort his friends, pass miseries, subdue enemies, adventure upon any feasible danger for GOD and Country. It is true, it is a happy thing to be born to strength, wealth, and honour; but that which is got by prowess and magnanimity is the truest lustre: and those can the best distinguish Content, that have escaped most honourable dangers; as if, out of every extremity, he found himself new born to a new life, to learn how to amend and maintain his Age.

J. Smith, 1630, *p.* 962.

The wars in Europe, Asia, and Africa taught me how to subdue the wild savages in Virginia and New England in America. J. Smith, 1630, *p.* 925.

Sir *Robert Cotton*, that most learned Treasurer of Antiquitie, having by perusall of my Generall Historie, and others [*i.e.*, *his other earlier publications*], found that I had likewise undergone divers other as hard hazards in the other parts of the world, requested me to fix the whole course of my passages in a booke by it selfe. *p.* 808.

These "Travels," SMITH dedicated to the Earls of PEMBROKE, LINDSEY, and DOVER: the second of whom, ROBERT BERTIE (who succeeded to the Barony of WILLOUGHBY D'ERESBY in 1601, and who was created on the 26th November 1626) Earl of LINDSEY, had, with his brother, twice met our Author during his wanderings abroad: viz., at Orleans, in 1596, *p.* 822; and at Siena, in 1601, *p.* 827.

We know enough of London society in the year 1629, and of the Episcopal censorship of the English press at that time, to be quite sure that no man would have dared to have offered to Sir ROBERT COTTON and those three Earls as *true travels*, a deliberately made up story of adventures which never happened. This alone is sufficient to shew that these *true travels* is an honestly written narrative of personal experiences.

2. That narrative however is fully corroborated by a number of incidental details and minute points, such as the following, occurring in his Works long before he has any thought of writing it.

In July 1608, SMITH exploring Chesapeake Bay in an open boat, named a headland, Point Ployer, *pp.* 110, 414, in memory of the great kindness of Earl PLOYER of Brittany to him, eight years before, *p.* 825. This name first appears in his *Map of Virginia* printed at Oxford in 1612.

In May—June 1614, he named the present Cape Anne in New England, Cape Tragbigzanda, *pp.* 204, &c., in memory of the kindness, if not the personal affection shewn him, while a Christian slave at Constantinople in 1603, by CHARATZA TRAGABIGZANDA, *pp.* 276, 853, 866: whose brother, TIMOR the Pasha of Nalbrits, he afterwards, in pure self-defence, killed; escaping away in his clothes and on his horse, across the steppes to the Russian outposts. At the same time in 1614, he named three islands, off Cape Anne the Three Turks Heads, *p.* 204, in memory of his famous passage of arms at Regal in Transylvania in 1602, *p.* 838. Both designations were first published in his *Description of New England*, in June 1616, long before he designed to print his travels.

The allusions to what he had seen in his travels in his earlier Works at *pp.* 56, 59, 62 come in naturally, are true as to fact, and could hardly have been invented.

In this connection may be considered our Author's general reticence about himself in the *Travels*. Evidently his personal adventures are rather understated than overstated therein. He was surely not idle on board the Breton ship, in that fight in 1601, in the Strait of Otranto, when she took the Venetian argosy, *pp.* 826–7; or in that other sea-fight in 1604, off Cape Bojador, when the English ship (in which, by stress of weather, he made an involuntary cruise), under the command of Captain MERHAM, whom he so delightedly calls "the old fox," fought two Spanish men-of-war at once, *pp.* 878–880: yet of the personal help, which we are sure he gave on both these occasions, he says not a word. So generally, while he is proud of his strategy and devices, he tells us very little of his personal bravery in the various battles in Eastern Europe in which he took part: with the exception of the succession of duels that he fought at Regal in 1602; which he could hardly have left out, seeing he bore the three Turks' heads in his coat of arms.

3. Whatever difficulty there may be about that manuscript History or Biography of FRANCISCO FARNESE, *p.* 788, there is no doubt that Rev. S. PURCHAS had it, or a copy of it, in his hands about 1623, or 1624.

". . . The Earle of *Meldritch*, with whom [*Smith*] going to *Vienna* in *Austria*, hee made him Captaine of two hundred and fiftie Souldiers, vnder whose

Regiments how he spent his time, this insuing Discourse will declare, as it is written in a Booke intituled, The Warres of *Transiluania, Wallachi*[*a*], and *Moldauia*, written by *Francisco Ferneza* a Learned *Italian*, Secretarie to *Sigismundus Bathor* the Prince," ii. 1363–61, *Ed.* 1625.

PURCHAS then gives what in the present Text forms the greater part of Chapters iv.–xi., at *pp.* 829–852, as "Extracts of Captaine *Smiths Transyluanian Acts*, out of *Fr. Fer.* his Storie :" which account SMITH says, at *p.* 852, PURCHAS himself translated, apparently from the Italian. Señor Don PASCUAL DE GAYANGOS has seen a printed Spanish translation of this Italian history, rendered into Spanish by a MONTALVO : but the manuscript History itself is apparently lost. That it existed, and that a copy of it was in PURCHAS's hands there can be no doubt, as he thus distinctly refers to it at ii. 1366, "as the Historie at large will plainly shew, the times, place, chiefe Commanders, with the manner and order of their battels, and fights ; to which I refer you." It is also to be noted that though Vol. ii. of PURCHAS's *Pilgrimes* is dated 1625, it was in hand two or three years ; so that this translation being made by him in 1623 or 1624, is fully five years earlier than SMITH's *True Travels*.

It may also be pointed out that SMITH, with his usual modesty, in giving this portion of his adventures, especially in the account of his fights with the three Turks, at *pp.* 829–852, mainly reprints PURCHAS's "Extracts" from FARNESE, *i.e.*, he chiefly uses the words of another person, and that person a foreigner.

4. A third corroboration of the truth of the Travels will be found in the *Complimentary Verses*, first printed in his *Description of New England*, in June 1616, *pp.* 230–1. These *Verses* are written by two old Officers of his company of 250 men, one of the four making up the regiment of 1,000 horse, in which our Author served under the Earl of MELDRI, in Eastern Europe ; of which regiment, after the victorious combats at Regal, the Earl made SMITH, Major, or second in command, *p.* 840.

The writers of these Verses, were his Ensign, THOMAS CARLTON ; and his Sergeant, EDWARD ROBINSON : who were the only two Englishmen out of the twelve present, *p.* 852, who escaped alive from the battle of Rothenthurm (Rottenton) in Transylvania, on the 18th of November 1602 ; when SMITH was left sore wounded on the battle-field, only to become afterwards a Turkish slave. The testimony as to the Writers' personal knowledge and admiration of our Author contained in these *Verses* is precise and valuable.

5. Mr. J. G. PALFREY, in his famous note on the *True Travels*, in his History of *New England*, i. 89, *Ed.* 1858, is simply laughable for his ignorance of the regulated conditions of publishing books in London during the lifetime of our Author. He states that "hack-writers abounded in London at the time. SMITH was just such a person [!], as, for the salcableness of his narratives, would naturally fall into their hands, and into the hands of their masters, the booksellers. . . . On the whole, the reader perhaps inclines to the opinion that JOHN SMITH was not the sole author of his books."

Mr. PALFREY errs in applying to the lifetime of our Author, the mendacities of the Grub-street era of GEORGE I. and II. Not only were there no "hack-writers," at that time, for books of colonization, &c. ; but SMITH manifestly wrote most of his books for nothing, and between 1616 and 1620 "divulged to my great labour, cost, and losse, more than seven thousand Bookes and Maps," *p.* 941. As a matter of fact, the *General History*, for which he issued a Prospectus signed by himself, in which he said, "nor shall the Stationers have the copy for nothing,"

p. cxxvi, did not sell well ; as is proved by the succession of fresh title pages in 1626, 1627, and 1632 to the same text. Mr. PALFREY's view of our Author is a degrading opinion of one of the most highminded of men, eminently possessing that keen sense of honour which was usual in an English Officer at that time ; and whose perspicuous honesty, had we space, could be demonstrated through every line of the present Text. Yet, in spite of his prejudice, in this same note, Mr. PALFREY is compelled to admit the substantial agreement of SMITH's account of his Eastern experiences with the known facts of history.

So far from the following Text having been written by anonymous hack-writers in SMITH's name, it will be seen that no one could have been more scrupulously careful than he was, in naming the authorities for everything he prints : so that, as the headlines of the present edition will shew, we have hardly any difficulty in assigning the authorship and date of composition of every *page* in the Text. The only exceptions to this, are those bits of verse scattered throughout the *General History* which are intended to "point the moral" of the Story, and which we must attribute to SMITH's deep religious feeling, wide reading, and not very great poetical powers.

For our own part, beginning with doubtfulness and wariness, we have gradually come to the unhesitating conviction, not only of SMITH's truthfulness, but also that, in regard to all personal matters, he systematically understates rather than exaggerates anything he did.

Why New England writers should attack our Author (after the manner of Mr. E. D. NEILL, who says "his writings are those of a gascon and beggar," *p.* 211, *Hist. of Virginia Co., &c.*, 1869) is simply amazing : seeing that SMITH preferred New England, as a colony, to Virginia or any other part of the world, *p.* 193 ; that he tried so hard, for years, to go out and end his days there, *pp.* 205, 218, 732 ; and that he actually did effect more, by his advocacy and publications, towards its colonization, than ever he was able to accomplish for Virginia, with all his money, personal services, dangers, and magnanimity. Only Virginia was England's forlorn hope in colonization in JAMES I.'s reign, and was therefore generally the more perilous enterprise ; especially as James town was 32 miles inland, and the New England settlements were on the coast.

6. We have, by the kindness of G. E. COKAYNE, Esq., Norroy King of Arms, and H. F. BURKE, Esq., Rouge Croix, personally inspected, in April, 1884, in the official register of Sir WILLIAM SEGAR's *Grants of Arms*, at the Heralds College in London, the following record of the Arms granted to our Author, by SIGISMUNDUS BÁTORI.

To *John Smith*, descended of ye Family of *Cuardly* in Lanc. Captaine of 250 Soldiers vnder *Henry Volda*, Earl of *Meldritch*, &c. A Grant of these Arms in Memory of thre Turks heades which with his Sword before ye Town of *Regal* he did overcome, kill and cut off, in the Province of *Transiluania*. This granted in a Letter of safe conduct, by *Sigismond Balthori*, Duke of *Transilvania*, 9 Dec. 1603. *p.* 371 of a volume labelled *Segar's Grants*. E. D. N. 57.

There is also in the Heralds College, an unofficial copy (in VINCENT's *Collectanea*, 169, *p.* 131), of the Latin Patent and Certificate printed at *pp.* 842–3. It has, however, some variations from the text as given by SMITH, which we have noted in the margin.

Of the authenticity therefore of this Grant of Arms, and of the all-important corroboration that it affords to the *True Travels*, there is no doubt at all.

Therefore though they may offer not a few points which have yet to be cleared up, the general credibility of the *Travels* is beyond question ; and in its clear, graphic and condensed style, the narrative is among the very best written English books of travel printed in Smith's lifetime.

III.

Our Author's intineraries come next for consideration. Except in Eastern Europe, &c., they present but little difficulty. The names, where he wrote down phonetically, we have here placed in round brackets.

John Smith's earlier travels on the Continent. 1596–1600 *A.D.* ; *æt.* 16–20.

1596 London. *p.* 822.
Orleans.
Paris.
Rouen.
Havre.
1596 A soldier in the French army.
1596–9 A soldier in the Dutch army.
1600 Enkhuisen (*Ancusan*).
1600 Shipwrecked at Holy Island or Lindisfarn. *p.* 822.
Northumberland.
Leith (*Lethe*).
? (*Ripweth*). *p.* 823.
? (*Broxmoth*).
Willoughby.

John Smith's later Travels on the Continent, until his arrival at Vienna. 1600–1601 *A.D.* ; *æt.* 20–21.

1600. Tattershall. *p.* 823.
Holland.
St. Valery sur Somme. *p.* 824.
Dieppe.
Caudebeck (*Codebeck*).
Honfleur (*Humphla*).
Pontaudemer (*Pountdemer*).
Caen.
Mortagne.
Pontorson (*Pounterson*). *p.* 825.
Dinan.
St. Malo.
Mont St. Michel.
Lamballe.
St. Brieuc (*Simbreack*).
Lannion.
Tonquedeck (*Tuncadeck*), the residence of the Earl of Plouha (*Ployer*).
1600. Guingamp (*Gigan*). *p.* 825.
Rennes (*Raynes*).
Nantes.
Poitiers.
Rochelle.
Bourdeaux.
Bayonne.
Lescar.
Pau.
Toulouse.
Beziers (*Bezers*).
Carcassone.
Narbonne.
Montpellier.
Nismes.
Avignon.
Arles.
Marseilles (*Marcellos*).
Toulon.

1600. The Isle of St. Mary, near Nice. *p.* 825.
Corsica. *p.* 826.
Sardinia.
Cape Bon (*Bona*).
Lampedusa (*Lampadosa*).
Cape Rosetta (*Rosata*).
Alexandria.
Scanderoon.
Cyprus.
Rhodes.
The Archipelago.
Crete (*Candia*).
Greece.
Zephalonia.
The Strait of Otranto.
Calabria. *p.* 827.
Sicily.
Sardinia.
Corsica.
Antibes in Piedmont (*Antibo in Peamon*).

1601. Leghorn (*Lygorne*). *p.* 827.
Tuscany.
Siena.
Viterbo.
Rome.
Civita Vechia. *p.* 828.
Naples.
Capua.
Rome.
Siena.
Florence.
Bolognia.
Ferrara.
Mantua.
Padua.
Venice.
Malamocco.
Raguza.
Capo d'Istria.
Laybach (*Lubbiano*).
Grätz (*Grates*).
Vienna (*Vienne*)

JOHN SMITH's Itinerary in Eastern Europe, &c., until the battle of Rothenthurm Pass, in Transylvania, 18 November 1602.
1601–1602 *A.D.; æt.* 21–22.

Here the names of places, as written by our Author, present some difficulties; inasmuch as many of the towns had, and still have, two or three names—one German, another Hungarian, and possibly a third Sclavonic: however, many can be identified. We give the usual, which is often the German name, first; and the countries where they will now be found.

HUNGARY.

1601. Ober Limbach; *in Hungarian*, Felso Landre. (*Olumpagh*) *p.* 829.
Stühlweissenberg; *in Latin* Alba Regalis. (*Stowllewesenburg*) *p.* 831.
Komorn. (*Comora*) *p.* 832.
The plains of ? (*Girke*). *p.* 833.
[*In Hungarian* Tzigetvar. (*Zigetun*)]
[Buda-Pesth. (*Buda*)] *p.* 835.
[Grosskirchen, *in Hungarian* Kanizsa. (*Caniza*)]
[Gran. (*Strigonium*)]

1601. [Komorn (*Komara*).] *p.* 835.

TRANSYLVANIA.

1602. ? (*Land of Zarkam*) *p.* 837.
? (*Regall*).
? (*Veratio*). *p.* 841.
? (*Solmos*).
? (*Kupronka*).
Eisenburg, *in Hungarian* Vasvar. (*Esenburg*)
[Temesvar. (*Temesware*)] *p.* 847.

WALLACHIA &c.

The river Aluta (*Altus*). *p.* 847.

1602. Rimnik (*Rebrinke*). *p.* 847.
Retch (*Raza*).
Arjish, on the river of the same name (*Argish*). *p.* 848.
Pitesti (*Peteske*).

1602. Longenaw (*Langanaw*). *p.* 849.
Rothenthurm, *in Hungarian* Verres Töröny (*Rottenton*). A Pass in Transylvania.

John Smith's Itinerary in Turkey, Tartary, Russia, &c., till his return to Hermannstadt in Transylvania.
1602–1603 *A.D.*; *æt.* 22–23.

Turkey.

1602. *Either* Tchernavda *or* Rassowa *on the Danube* (*Axopolis*). *p.* 853.
Adrianople.
1603. Constantinople.
? (*Sander*). *p.* 854.
Serai (*Screwe*).
? (*Panassa*).
? (*Musa*).
Lascillo (*Lastilla*).
Varna.
The Black Sea.
Cape (*Taur*).
Cape (*Pergilos*).
Strait of Kertch (*Niger*).
Sea of Azov (*Dissabacca*).
Sirxu (*Susax*).
? Tcherkrsh *on the river Don* (*Curuske*).
? (*Bruapo*).

1603. *The* Combra *of* Mercator (*Cambia*). *p.* 854.
The Nalbrits *of* Mercator (*Nalbrits*). *p.* 855.
(On the Don, *Æcopolis.*) *p.* 867.
? (*Zumalacke.*)
? (*Caragnaw.*)
? (*Letch.*)
? (*Donka* in *Cologske.*)
? (*Berniske*, ? (*Newgrod*) } In *Seberia*).
? (*Rezechia* on the *Niper.*)
? (*Coroski*, ? (*Duberesko*, ? (*Duzihell*, ? (*Drohobus*, ? (*Ostroge*) } *p.* 868. In *Volonia.*)
? (*Saslaw*, ? (*Lasco*) } In *Podolia.*)
? (*Halico*, ? (*Collonia*) } In *Polonia.*)
Hermannstadt (*Hermonstat*).

John Smith's return home from Transylvania.
1603–1604 *A.D.*; *æt.* 23–24.

Hungary.

1603. Filleck (*Fileck*), Tokay (*Tocka*), Kaschaw (*Cassovia*), Arva (*Underoroway*) } In High *Hungary.*) *p.* 869.

Germany.

Olmütz (*Ulmicht* in *Moravia*). *p.* 869.
Prague.
1603. Dec. Leipsic in Lower Saxony (*Lipswick* in *Misenland.*)
Dresden.

1604. Magdeburg. *p.* 869.
Brunswick.
Cassell.
Wittemberg.
Ulm.
Munich.
Augsburg.
? (*Hama*).
Frankfort.
Mayence.
The Rhine Valley (*Palatinate*).
Worms.
Spires.
Strasburgh.

FRANCE.

1604. Nancy. *p.* 869.
Paris.
Orleans.
Down the Loire.
Angers.
Nantes.

SPAIN.

Bilbao.
Burgos.
Valladolid.
The Escorial.
Madrid.
Toledo.
Cordova.
Ciudad Real.
Seville (*Civill*).
Xeres (*Cheryes*).
Cadiz (*Cales*).
San Lucar de Barrameda (Saint *Lucas*).

1604. Gibraltar. *p.* 869.

AFRICA.

Ceuta (*Guta*).
Tangier (*Tanger*).
Saffi (*Saffee*).
Trip to the town of Marocco (107 miles inland from Saffi), and back.

SMITH'S INVOLUNTARY CRUISE.

Saffi. *p.* 878.
The Canaries.
Cape Bojador.
Santa Cruz. *p.* 880.
Cape Ghir (*Goa*).
Mogadore.
Saffi.

HOME AT LAST.

England.

It will be seen that these Itineraries are perfectly consistent, that the Author is always moving forward.

PURCHAS thus gives us some more particulars as to SMITH's return home. "Then vnderstanding that the Warres of *Mully Shah* and *Mully Sedan*, the two Brothers in *Barbarie* of *Fez* and *Moroco* (to which hee was animated by some friends) were concluded in peace, he imbarked himselfe for *England* with one thousand Duckets in his Purse, which after with a great deale more hee employed, in searching more dangers in the West *Indies*, and the vnknowne parts of vnciuilized *America*." ii. 1370.

It would also seem that SMITH, after his return home, made a walking tour in Ireland.

WINGFIELD, in his recrimination, *p.* lxxxix, says of him :

It was proued to his face, that he begged in *Ireland* like a rogue, without a lycence.

Of course, this is a distortion. To a man who had tramped or ridden over nearly all Europe, a tour on foot in Ireland would be a small matter.

Not satisfied with all this adventure, our Author next turned his attention to the river Oyapok in South America.

In the yeare 1605. Captaine *Ley*, brother to that noble Knight Sir *Oliver Ley*, with divers others, planted himselfe in the River *Weapoco*, wherein I should have beene a partie; but hee dyed, and there lyes buried: and the supply miscarrying, the rest escaped as they could. *p.* 896.

From this it is clear, that as he had hitherto followed the Wars wherever he

found them ; so now, the times having changed to peace, he gave himself to Colonization : and that having missed going to South America, and Virginia being the next Attempt that offered, he went to Virginia. The James town Settlement did not convert him to the Colonizing Effort to which he henceforth gave his entire energies ; but was his second endeavour in that new life which was now opening to him

B. Virginia. 1605–1612 A.D.

IV.

It is not a work for every one to plant a Colony ; but when a house is built, it is no hard matter to dwell in it. This requireth all the best parts of Art, Judgement, Courage, Honesty, Constancy, Diligence, and Experience, to do but near[ly] well : and there is a great difference between Saying and Doing.

J. Smith, 1620, *p.* 244.

There was a little city, and few men within it ; and there came a great king against it, and besieged it, and built great bulwarks against it. Now there was found in it a poor wise man, and he by his wisdom delivered the city ; yet no man remembered that same poor man. *Ecclesiastes* ix. 14, 15.

When Captain Smith went to Virginia, the most adventurous part of his life had passed away. He was often, while there, in most imminent danger ; but nothing that he faced or endured in America, came up in peril and dread, to that which he had already undergone in Eastern Europe and Tartary. By this time, he was a hardened soldier ; a wary, foreseeing, and energetic Officer : so that he already possessed more experience of savage and semi-savage life than any other man in the Virginia expedition of 1606–7. Indeed, in his exceeding wariness, he seems to have over-estimated the military skill of the Virginian Indians, by making those forts of which he thus writes in 1629.

The Forts Captaine *Smith* left a building, [are] so ruined, there is scarce mention where they were. *p.* 888.

Yet had he to find out for himself a way to manage the Virginian Indians, respecting which others wrote, in 1612.

Though the many miserable yet generous and worthy adventures he had long and oft indured as wel in some parts of *Africa* and *America*, as in the most partes of *Europe* and *Asia*, by land or sea, had taught him much : yet, in this case, he was againe to learne his Lecture by experience ; which with thus much a doe having obtained, it was his ill chance to end when hee had but onlie learned how to begin. *pp.* 159, 160.

In October 1622, he wrote himself—

For *Virginia*, I kept that country with 38, and had not to eate but what we had from the sauages. When I had ten men able to go abroad, our common wealth was very strong : with such a number I ranged that vnknown country 14 weekes ; I had but 18 to subdue them all, with which great army I stayed six weekes

before their greatest Kings habitations, till they had gathered together all the power they could; and yet the Dutch-men sent at a needlesse excessiue charge did helpe *Powhatan* how to betray me.

Of their numbers we were vncertaine; but them two honorable Gentlemen (Captaine *George Percie* and Captaine *Francis West*, two of the *Phittiplaces*, and some other such noble gentlemen and resolute spirits bore their shares with me, and now liuing in *England*) did see me take this murdering *Opechankanough* now their great King by the long locke on his head; with my pistole at his breast, I led him among his greatest forces, and before we parted made him fill our Bark of twenty Tuns with corne. When their owne wants was such, I haue given them part againe in pittie, and others haue bought it againe to plant their fields.

For wronging a souldier but the value of a peny, I have caused *Powhatam* send his owne men to *Iames* Towne to receiue their punishment at my discretion. It is true in our greatest extremitie they shot me, slue three of my men, and by the folly of them that fled tooke me prisoner; yet God made *Pocahontas* the Kings daughter the meanes to deliuer me: and thereby taught me to know their trecheries to preserue the rest.

It was also my chance in single combat to take the King of *Paspahegh* prisoner: and by keeping him, forced his subiects to worke in chaines till I made all the country pay contribution; hauing little else whereon to liue.

Twise in this time I was their President, and none can say in all that time I had a man slaine: but for keeping them in that feare I was much blamed both there and here: yet I left 500 behind me that, through their confidence, in six monthes came most to confusion, as you may reade at large in the description of *Virginia* [*pp.* 170, 498].

When I went first to these desperate designes, it cost me many a forgotten pound to hire men to go; and procrastination caused more [to] run away then went. *pp.* 262-3.

And again:

I thinke it more strange they should taxe me before they haue tried as much as I haue both by land and sea, as well in *Asia* and *Africa*, as *Europe* and *America*, where my commanders were actors or spectators, they alwaies so freely rewarded me, I neuer needed to importunate, n[or] could I euer learne to beg: what there I got, I haue thus spent.

These sixteen yeares I haue spared neither paines nor money

according to my abilitie, first to procure his Maiesties Letters pattents, and a Company here to be the means to raise a company to go with me to *Virginia*, as is said: which beginning here and there cost me neare 5 yeares [1604–1609] worke, and more then 500 pounds of my owne estate, besides all the dangers, miseries, and incumbrances I endured gratis; where I stayed till I left 500 better prouided than euer I was: from which blessed virgin (ere I returned) sprung the fortunate habitation of *Somer Iles*.

This Virgins sister, now called *New England*, *an.* 1616. at my humble suit by our most gracious Prince Charles, hath bin neare as chargeable to me and my friends: for all which I neuer got shilling, but it cost me many a pound, yet I thinke my selfe happie to see their prosperities. *pp.* 266–7.

Once more, in 1624, he wrote:

Hauing spent some fiue yeares [1604–1609], and more than fiue hundred pounds in procuring the Letters Patents and setting forward, and neere as much more about *New England*, &c. Thus these nineteene yeares [1603–1624] I haue here and there not spared any thing according to my abilitie, nor the best aduice I could, to perswade how those strange miracles of misery might haue beene preuented, which lamentable experience plainly taught me of necessity must insue, but few would beleeue me till now too deerely they haue paid for it. Wherefore hitherto I haue rather left all then vndertake impossibilities, or any more such costly taskes at such chargeable rates: for in neither of those two Countries haue I one foot of Land, nor the very house I builded, nor the ground I digged with my owne hands, nor euer any content or satisfaction at all. And though I see ordinarily those two Countries shared before me by them that neither haue them nor knowes them, but by my descriptions: Yet that doth not so much trouble me, as to heare and see those contentions and diuisions which will hazard if not ruine the prosperitie of *Virginia*, if present remedy bee not found, as they haue hindred many hundreds, who would haue beene there ere now, and makes them yet that are willing to stand in a demurre.

For the Books and Maps I haue made, I will thanke him that will shew me so much for so little recompence; and beare with their errors till I haue done better. *pp.* 613–4.

For our Author's own account of his Virginian experiences, the reader should first carefully read his Report &c. to the Royal Commissioners in 1624, at *pp.* 610–620; and his final review of the whole matter in his *Advertisements* of

1630, at *pp.* 927–931. He will then see things with SMITH's eyes, and from his standpoint.

In the second of these accounts, our Author speaks of "I with my party" in the James river Settlement. The Colony soon broke into two divisions, that headed by RATCLIFFE, MARTIN, and ARCHER; and that which followed SMITH.

As everything relating to that Settlement in the present Text, might (however true in itself) be antecedently prejudiced on the ground that it was an *ex parte* statement; the manifesto of a Party that did *not* perish, when the other side did in *The Starving Time* of 1609–10: we have printed in the following pages of this *Introduction* all the Eye-witness testimonies we could find, of the state of the Colony during the nearly thirty months our Author was there; he having arrived with the Expedition in Chesapeake Bay on the 26th April 1607, and left James town, after having been injured by gunpowder, for England on the 4th October 1609.

Here again the result is perfectly satisfactory. These Eye-witness Accounts supply us with a lot of new and most interesting information; and, above all, afford us a number of important dates on which to pivot the history of those thirty months.

Seeing therefore that all this illustrative material only brings out the general truthfulness of the Text at large; once more, from this fresh test, we accord to our Author a fresh measure of confidence. Undoubtedly, SMITH was the Saviour of the James river Settlement.

Before we give these most valuable contemporary documents, it may be well to touch upon the false charge of an imaginary mutiny, which nearly cost our Author his life while on the voyage out to Virginia.

It does not appear that SMITH actually did anything at all.

WINGFIELD states, *p.* lxxxiii, that on 17 September 1607, he was fined by the Colony to pay £200 [=£800 *now*] to Captain SMITH, *p.* 389,

for that I had said hee did conceale an intended mutany.

Also—

Master *Smyths* quarrell, [with me, was] because his name was mencioned in the entended and confessed mutiny by *Galthropp*. *p.* xc.

STEPHEN GALTHORPE died on 15 Aug. 1607, see *p.* lxxi.

This accusation appears to have been made at Dominica, on the 24th Mar. 1607, *p.* lvii–lviii; and during the six days [28th Mar.–2 Apr. 1607] the Expedition stayed at Nevis, *p.* lix, our Author says:

Such factions here we had, as commonly attend such voyages, that a paire of gallowes was made; but Captaine *Smith*, for whom they were intended, could not be perswaded to use them: but not any one of the inventers but their lives by justice fell into his power to determine of at his pleasure; whom with much mercy he favoured, that most basely and unjustly would have betrayed him. *p.* 910.

The exact nature of the wild charge against SMITH will be seen at *p.* 388.

He however remained a prisoner until the Gentlemen in the Colony having on June 6, *p.* liii, put up a petition to the Council, he was sworn of the Council on the 10th June 1607, *p.* liv; or as he puts it at *pp.* 92, 388, he was imprisoned, [for nothing!] 13 weeks.

ILLUSTRATIVE DOCUMENTS

The London Virginia Company.

Instructions by way of advice, for the intended Voyage to Virginia.

In the Library of the Congress, at Washington, D.C., in two folio volumes, is a copy of the original Minutes of the London or Southern Virginia Company, between 1617 and the date of its dissolution 16 June 1624. In the same volume are copies of documents relating to an earlier period of the Colony; and among these, the following *Instructions*, which have been printed in a modernized form by Mr. E. D. Neill at *p.* 8 of his *History of the London Virginia Company*, Albany, N.Y., 1869; from whence we have here given them.

Instructions given by way of advice by us whom it hath pleased the King's Majesty to appoint of the Counsel for the intended voyage to Virginia, to be observed by those Captains and company which are sent at this present to plant there.

AS we doubt not but you will have especial care to observe the ordinances set down by the King's Majesty and delivered unto you under the Privy Seal; so for your better directions upon your first landing we have thought good to recommend unto your care these instructions and articles following. [1606]

When it shall please God to send you on the coast of Virginia, you shall do your best endeavour to find out a safe port in the entrance of some navigable river, making

[1606] choice of such a one as runneth farthest into the land, and if you happen to discover divers portable rivers, and amongst them any one that hath two main branches, if the difference be not great, make choice of that which bendeth most toward the North-west for that way you shall soonest find the other sea.

When you have made choice of the river on which you mean to settle, be not hasty in landing your victuals and munitions; but first let Captain *Newport* discover how far that river may be found navigable, that you [may] make election of the strongest, most wholesome and fertile place; for if you make many removes, besides the loss of time, you shall greatly spoil your victuals and your casks, and with great pain transport it in small boats.

But if you choose your place so far up as a bark of fifty tuns will float, then you may lay all your provisions ashore with ease, and the better receive the trade of all the countries about you in the land; and such a place you may perchance find a hundred miles from the river's mouth, and the further up the better. For if you sit down near the entrance, except it be in some island that is strong by nature, an enemy that may approach you on even ground, may easily pull you out: and if he be driven to seek you a hundred miles [in] the land in boats, you shall from both sides of the river where it is narrowest, so beat them with your muskets as they shall never be able to prevail against you.

And to the end that you be not surprized as the French were in *Florida* by *Melindus*, and the *Spaniard* in the same place by the *French*, you shall do well to make this double provision. First, erect a little stoure at the mouth of the river that may lodge some ten men; with whom you shall leave a light boat, that when any fleet shall be in sight, they may come with speed to give you warning. Secondly, you must in no case suffer any of the native people of the country to inhabit between you and the sea coast; for you cannot carry yourselves so towards them, but they will grow discontented with your habitation, and be ready to guide and assist any nation that shall come to invade you: and if you neglect this, you neglect your safety.

When you have discovered as far up the river as you mean to plant yourselves, and landed your victuals and munitions; to the end that every man may know know his charge, you shall do well to divide your six score men into three parts: whereof one party of them you may appoint to fortifie and build, of which your first work must be your storehouse for victuals; the other[s] you may imploy in preparing your ground and sowing your corn and roots; the other ten of these forty you must leave as centinel at the haven's mouth. [1606]

The other forty you may imploy for two months in discovery of the river above you, and on the country about you; which charge Captain *Newport* and Captain *Gosnold* may undertake of these forty discoverers. When they do espie any high lands or hills, Captain *Gosnold* may take twenty of the company to cross over the lands, and carrying a half dozen pickaxes to try if they can find any minerals. The other twenty may go on by river, and pitch up boughs upon the bank's side, by which the other boats shall follow them by the same turnings. You may also take with them a wherry, such as is used here in the *Thames*; by which you may send back to the President for supply of munition or any other want, that you may not be driven to return for every small defect.

You must observe if you can, whether the river on which you plant doth spring out of mountains or out of lakes. If it be out of any lake, the passage to the other sea will be more easy, and [it] is like enough, that out of the same lake you shall find some spring which run[s] the contrary way towards the East *India* Sea; for the great and famous rivers of *Volga*, *Tan*[*a*]*is* and *Dwina* have three heads near joyn[e]d; and yet the one falleth into the *Caspian* Sea, the other into the *Euxine* Sea, and the third into the *Pælonian* Sea.

In all your passages you must have great care not to offend the naturals, if you can eschew it; and imploy some few of your company to trade with them for corn and all other lasting victuals if you [? *they*] have any: and this you must do before that they perceive you mean to plant among them; for not being sure how your own seed corn will prosper the first year, to avoid the

[1606] danger of famine, use and endeavour to store yourselves of the country corn.

Your discoverers that passes over land with hired guides, must look well to them that they slip not from them: and for more assurance, let them take a compass with them, and write down how far they go upon every point of the compass; for that country having no way nor path, if that your guides run from you in the great woods or desert, you shall hardly ever find a passage back.

And how weary soever your soldiers be, let them never trust the country people with the carriage of their weapons; for if they run from you with your shott, which they only fear, they will easily kill them all with their arrows. And whensoever any of yours shoots before them, be sure they may be chosen out of your best marksmen; for if they see your learners miss what they aim at, they will think the weapon not so terrible, and thereby will be bould to assault you.

Above all things, do not advertize the killing of any of your men, that the country people may know it; if they perceive that they are but common men, and that with the loss of many of theirs they diminish any part of yours, they will make many adventures upon you. If the country be populous, you shall do well also, not to let them see or know of your sick men, if you have any; which may also encourage them to many enterprizes.

You must take especial care that you choose a seat for habitation that shall not be over burthened with woods near your town: for all the men you have, shall not be able to cleanse twenty acres a year; besides that it may serve for a covert for your enemies round about.

Neither must you plant in a low or moist place, because it will prove unhealthfull. You shall judge of the good air by the people; for some part of that coast where the lands are low, have their people blear eyed, and with swollen bellies and legs: but if the naturals be strong and clean made, it is a true sign of a wholesome soil.

You must take order to draw up the pinnace that is left with you, under the fort: and [to] take her sails and anchors ashore, all but a small kedge to ride by; least some ill-disposed persons slip away with her.

You must take care that your marriners that go for wages, do not marr your trade; for those that mind not to inhabite, for a little gain will debase the estimation of exchange, and hinder the trade for ever after: and therefore you shall not admit or suffer any person whatsoever, other than such as shall be appointed by the President and Counsel there, to buy any merchandizes or other things whatsoever. [1606]

It were necessary that all your carpenters and other such like workmen about building do first build your storehouse and those other rooms of publick and necessary use before any house be set up for any private person: and though the workman may belong to any private persons yet let them all work together first for the company and then for private men.

And seeing order is at the same price with confusion, it shall be adviseably done to set your houses even and by a line, that your streets may have a good breadth, and be carried square about your market place, and every street's end opening into it; that from thence, with a few field pieces, you may command every street throughout; which market place you may also fortify if you think it needfull.

You shall do well to send a perfect relation by Captaine *Newport* of all that is done, what height you are seated, how far into the land, what commodities you find, what soil, woods and their several kinds, and so of all other things else to advertise particularly; and to suffer no man to return but by pasport from the President and Counsel, nor to write any letter of any thing that may discourage others.

Lastly and chiefly the way to prosper and achieve good success is to make yourselves all of one mind for the good of your country and your own, and to serve and fear God the Giver of all Goodness, for every plantation which our Heavenly Father hath not planted shall be rooted out.

Robert Tindall,

Gunner to Prince Henry.

Letter to the Prince,

22 *June* 1607.

[*Harl. MS.* 7007. *fol.* 139; in the British Museum.]

Mightie Prince

[1607] I thought it no lesse than my duty beinge imployed in this voyage of Verginia, In all humble mannor to make your Princelye selfe acquainted with those accidentes which hathe happenned to vs in this our voyage. May it therefore please your grace to accepte at the handes of your most humble and dutifull seruante a dearnall of our voyage and draughte of our Riuer hearinclosed by vs discouered where neuer christian before hathe beene, and also to let your grace vnderstande wee are safelye arryued and planted in this Contreye by the prouidence and mercye of God, which wee finde to be in it selfe most fruitefull, of the whiche wee haue taken a Reall and publicke possession in the name and to the vse of your Royall father and our gratious kinge and soueraigne: Thus ceasing for being too tedious and troublesome vnto your grace, I in all humble mannour committ your Princelye selfe to the protection of almightie God whome on my knees I dayelye praye (as I am bounde)

to blesse and prosper your godlye and vertuous proceedings: [1607]
From Iames Towne in Virginia this: 22 of Iune 1607.
By your Graces most humble dutifull
and faithfull seruaunte and
Gunner:

ROBERTE TINDALL. [*pp.* xli, xcvi.]

[*Addressed*]
To the highe and Mightie Prince Henry Fredericke prince and heyre apparente of greate Brittaine Fraunce Ireland and Virginia.

[*Endorsed*]
Tindall his H. gunner
from Virginia.

The above-mentioned "dearnall of our voyage," and "draughte" of the James river (see *p.* xli) are apparently now lost.

There is, however, a later draught by this Gunner, which now forms *Cott. MS. Augustus* I., *Vol.* II. *No.* 46, in the British Museum; which is entitled

The Draught by Roberte Tindall
of virginia. Anno 1608.

A Gentleman of the Colony.

[? Captain GABRIEL ARCHER.]

A relayton of the Discovery, &c.
21 *May*—22 *June* 1607.

This is one of the many Relations that were written at this time. It was seen by President WINGFIELD; who, the next year, 1608, refers to it; see *p.* lxxvi.

Out of the five Gentlemen of the Colony named on the opposite page, this narrative would seem to have been written by Captain GABRIEL ARCHER. The abridgement of the Hon. G. PERCY's Relation covering this period, we have at *pp.* lvii–lxxiii.

The writer, whoever he was, took an important subordinate part in the expedition, discussing matters with the natives, &c. Speaking of the Chesapeake Indians, at *p.* xliv, he tells a Chief, on 23 May 1607,

> That we had warres with them also, shewing hurtes scarce whole received by them,

evidently referring to the attack of the Chesapeake Indians on the 26 April previous, when Captain ARCHER was hurt in both his hands, *p.* lxii: and he was the only one then present, so hurt on that occasion. The way this sentence is written makes us think that ARCHER was speaking of his own wounds. If another person had been writing of him, he would have mentioned Captain ARCHER's name.

Another slight presumption as to the authorship, is that, in the list of Discoverers, he puts his own name before SMITH's; and also that the scrivener has written his name in larger letters than he has used in writing those of the three following Gentlemen.

[*State Papers, Colonial.* Vol. I. (1574–1621), No. 15.]

A relatyon of the Discovery of our River, from *Iames Forte* into the Maine: made by Captaine *Christofer Newport*: and sincerely writen and observed by a gent: of ye Colony.

May 21. 1607.

THursday the xxith of May, Captaine *Newport* (having fitted our shallop with provision and all necessaryes belonging to a discovery) tooke 5. gentlemen. 4. Maryners and. 14. Saylours, with whome he proceeded with a perfect resolutyon not to returne, but either to finde ye head of this Ryver, the Laake mentyoned

by others heretofore, the Sea againe, the Mountaynes *Apalatsi*, or some issue. [1607]

The names of the Dysco-vererers are thes } Captaine *Christofer Newport*.

[Gentlemen]		[Maryners.]	
George Percye esq.		*ffrancys Nellson*	
Captaine *Gabriell Archer*		*John Collson*	
Captaine *Ihon Smyth*		*Robert Tyndall* [pp. xxxviii, xcvi.]	
Master *Ihon Brookes*		*Mathew ffytch*	
Master *Thomas Wotton*			

1. *Ionas Poole*.
2. *Robert Markham*.
3. *Iohn Crookdeck*.
4. *Olyver Browne*.
5. *Beniamyn White*.
6. *Rychard Genoway*.
7. *Thomas Turnbrydge*.
8. *Thomas Godword*.
9. *Robert Iackson*.
10. *Charles Clarke*.
11. *Stephen*.
12. *Thomas Skynner*.
13. *Ieremy Deale*.
14. *Danyell*.

Thus from *Iames Fort* we tooke our leave about Noone, and by night we were vp the Ryver. 18. myle at a lowe meadow point, which I call *Wynauh*. Here came the people, and entertayned vs with Daunces and much reioycing. This kyngdome *Wynauh* is full of pearle muskles. The kyng of *Paspeiouh* and this king is at odds, as the *Paspeians* tould me, and Demonstrated by their hurtes: heere we anckored all night.

ffryday, omitting no tyme, we passed vp some. 16. myle further, where we founde an Ilet, on which were many Turkeys, and greate store of yonge byrdes like Black birdes, wherof wee tooke Dyvers, which wee brake our fast withall. Now spying. 8. salvages in a Canoa, we haled them by our worde of kyndnes; *Wingapoh*, and they came to vs. In conference by signes with them, one seemed to vnderstand our intentyon, and offred with his foote to Describe the river to vs: So I gaue him a pen and paper (shewing first ye vse) and he layd out the whole River from the *Chesseian* bay to the end of it so farr as passadg[e] was for boats: he tolde vs of two Ileths in the Ryver we should passe by, meaning that one whereon we were, and [pp. xliii, xlvii, lv.] May 22.

[1607] then come to an overfall of water, beyond that of two kyngdomes which the Ryver Runes by, then a great Distance of[f], the Mountaines *Quiranh* as he named them: beyond which by his relation is that which we expected. This fellow parting from vs promised to procure vs wheate if we would stay a little before, and for that intent went back againe to provide it: but we coming by the place where he was, with many more very Desirous of our Company, stayd not, as being eagre of our good tydinges. He notwithstanding with two wemen and another fellow of his owne consort, followed vs some sixe mile with basketes full of Dryed oysters, and mett vs at a point, where calling to vs, we went ashore and bartred with them for most of their victualls.

Here the shoare began to be full of greate Cobble stones, and higher land. The Ryver skantes of his breadth. 2. mile before we come to the Ilet mentyoned which I call *Turkey Ile*: yet keepes it a quarter of a mile broade most comonly, and Depe water for shipping. This fellow with the rest overtooke vs agayne vpon the Doubling of another point: Now they had gotten mulberyes, little sweete nuttes like Acorns (a verye good fruite), wheate, beanes and mulberyes sodd together and gave vs. Some of them Desired to be sett over the Ryver, which we dyd, and they parted.

Now we passed a Reach of. 3. mile ½. in length, highe stony ground on *Popham* syde. 5. or. 6. fadome. 8. oares length from the shoare.

This Daye we went about. 38. mile and came to an Ankre at a place I call *poore Cottage*; where we went ashore, and were vsed kyndly by the people, wee sodd our kettle by ye water syde within nighte, and rested aboorde.

May 23. [*f.* lxviii.] Satterday we passed a few short reaches; and. 5. mile of *poore Cottage* we went a shore. Heer we found our kinde Comrades againe, who had gyven notice all along as they came of vs: by which we were entertayned with much Courtesye in every place. We found here a *Wiroans* (for so they call their kynges) who satt upon a matt of Reedes, with his people about him: He caused one to be layd for Captaine *Newport*, gave vs a Deare roasted; which

according to their Custome they seethed againe: His people gave vs mullberyes, sodd wheate and beanes, and he caused his weomen to make Cakes for vs. He gave our Captaine his Crowne which was of Deares hayre, Dyed redd. Certifying him of our intentyon vp the Ryver, he was willing to send guydes with us. This we found to be a kynge subiect to *Pawatah* the Cheife of all the kyngdomes) his name is *Arahatec*: the Country *Arahatecoh*. [1607]

Now as we satt merye banquetting with them, seeing their Daunces, and taking Tobacco, Newes came that the greate kyng *Powatah* was come: at whose presence they all rose of[f] their mattes (saue the king *Arahatec*); separated themselves aparte in fashion of a Guard, and with a long shout they saluted him. Him wee saluted with silence sitting still on our mattes, our Captaine in the myddest; but presented (as before we Dyd to king *Arahatec*) gyftes of dyvers sortes, as penny knyves, sheeres, belles, beades, glasse toyes &c. more amply then before. Now this king appointed. 5. men to guyde us up the River, and sent Postes before to provyde us victuall. [*pp.* lxxvi, lxxxvi.]

I caused now our kynde Consort that described the River to vs, to draw it againe before kyng *Arahatec*, who in euery thing consented to his Draught, and it agreed with his first relatyon. This we found a faythfull fellow, he was one that was appointed guyde for us. [*pp.* xli, xlvii, lv.]

Thus parting from *Arahatecs ioye*, we found the people on either syde the Ryver stand in Clusters all along, still proferring vs victualls, which of some were accepted; as our guydes (that were with vs in the boate) pleased, and gaue them requitall.

So after we had passed some 10. myle, which (by the pleasure and ioye we tooke of our kinde interteynment, and for the Comfort of our happy and hopefull Discovery) we accompted scarce. 5. we came to the second Ilet Described in the Ryver; over against which on *Popham* syde is the habitatyon of the greate kyng *Pawatah*: which I call *Pawatahs Towre*; it is scituat upon a highe Hill by the water syde, a playne betweene it and the water. 12. score [yards] over, wheron he sowes his wheate, beane, peaze, tobacco, pompions, gourdes, Hempe, flaxe, &c. And were any Art vsed to the naturall state of this place, [*pp.* 163, 481.]

[1607] it would be a goodly habitatyon: Heere we were conducted vp the Hill to the kyng, with whome we found our kinde king *Arahatec*: Thes. 2. satt by themselves aparte from all the rest (saue one who satt by *Powatah*, and what he was I could not gesse but they told me he was no *Wiroans*): Many of his company satt on either side: and the mattes for vs were layde right over against the kynges. He caused his weomen to bring vs vittailes, mulberyes, strawberryes &c. but our best entertaynment was frendly wellcome.

In Discoursing with him, we founde that all the kyngdomes from the were frendes with him, and (to vse his owne worde) *Cheisc*, which is all one with him or vnder him. Also wee perceived the *Chessipian* to be an Enemye generally to all thes kyngdomes: vpon which I tooke occasion to signifye our Displeasure with them also: making it knowne that we refused to plant in their Country; that we had warres with them also, shewing hurtes scarce whole received by them, for which we vowed revenge, after their maner, pointing to the Sunne: ffurther we certifyed him that we were frendes with all his people and kyngdomes, neither had any of them offred us ill, or vsed vs vnkyndly. Hereupon he (very well understanding by the wordes and signes we made; the significatyon of our meaning) moved of his owne accord a leauge of fryndship with vs; which our Captaine kyndly imbraced; and for concluding therof, gaue him his gowne, put it on his back himselfe, and laying his hand on his breast saying *Wingapoh Chemuze* (the most kynde wordes of salutatyon that may be) he satt Downe.

[*ff.* lxii, 5, 31, 91, 387, 896.]

Now the Day Drawing on, we made signe to be gone, wherwith he was contented; and sent. 6. men with vs: we also left a man with him, and Departed. But now rowing some. 3. myle in shold water we came to an overfall, impassable for boates any further. Here the water falles Downe through great mayne Rockes, from ledges of Rockes aboue. 2. fadome highe: in which fall it maketh Divers little Ileтts, on which might be placed 100. water milnes for any vses. Our mayne Ryver ebbs and flowes. 4. foote even to ye skert of this Downfall. Shippes of. 200. or. 300. tonne may come to within. 5.

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myle hereof, and the rest Deepe inoughe for Barges, or small vessells that Drawe not aboue. 6. foote water. Having viewed this place, betweene Content and greefe we left it for this night, determyning the next Day to fitt our selfe for a March by Land. [1607]

So we road all night betweene *Pawatahs Tower* and that Ilet I call wheron is. 6. or. 7. families. One of our Guydes which we had from *Arahatecs Ioy* whose name was *Nauiraus*, and now we found to be brother in Lawe to king *Arahatec*, desired to sleepe in the boate with vs: we permitted him, and vsed him with all the kyndnes we coulde: He proved a very trustye frend, as after is Declared. Now we sent for our Man to *Pawatah*, who coming told us of his entertaynment, how they had prepared mattes for him to lye on, gave him store of victualls, and made asmuch on him as coulde be/

Sonday, Whitsonday, our Captayne caused two peeces of porke to be sodd a shore with pease; to which he invyted king *Pawatah*: for *Arahatec* perswading himselfe we would come Downe the Ryver that night, went home before Dynner, for preparatyon against our Coming. But in presence of them both it fell out that we missing two bullet bagges which had shott and Dyvers trucking toyes in them: we Complayned to theis kynges, who instantly caused them all to be restored, not wanting any thing. Howbeit they had Devyded the shott and toyes to (at least) a Dozen severall persons; and those also in the Ilet over the water: One also having stollen a knyfe, brought it againe vpon his Comaunde before we supposed it lost, or had made any signe for it: So Captaine *Newport* gave thanckes to the kinges and rewarded the theeves with the same toyes they had stollen, but kept the bullets: yet he made knowne unto them the Custome of *England* to be Death for such offences. May 24.

Now *Arahatec* departed, and it being Dynner tyme, king *Pawatah* with some of his people satt with vs, brought of his dyet, and we fedd familiarly, without sitting in his state as before; he eat very freshly of our meat, Dranck of our beere, Aquavite, and Sack. Dynner Done we entred into Discourse of the Ryver how far it might be

[1607] to the head therof, where they gat their Copper, and their Iron, and how many dayes Iornye it was to *Monanacah Rahowacah* and the Mountaines *Quirank*: requesting him to have guydes with vs also in our intended March; for our Captaine Determyned to haue travelled two or. 3. dayes Iornye a foote vp the Ryver: but without gyving any answer to our Demaundes, he shewde he would meete vs himselfe at the overfall and so we parted. This *Nauiraus* accompanyed vs still in the boate. According to his promyse he [*Pawatah*] mett vs; where the fellow whome I haue called our kinde Consort, he that followed vs from *Turkey Ile*, at the Coming of *Pawatah* made signe to vs we must make a shoute, which we Dyd.

Now sitting vpon the banck by the overfall beholding the same, he began to tell vs of the tedyous travell we should haue if wee proceeded any further, that it was a Daye and a halfe Iorney to *Monanacah*, and if we went to *Quiranck*, we should get no vittailes and be tyred, and sought by all meanes to Disswade our Captayne from going any further: Also he tolde vs that the *Monanacah* was his Enmye, and that he came Downe at the fall of the leafe and invaded his Countrye.

Now what I coniecture of this I haue left to a further experience. But our Captayne out of his Discreyton (though we would faine have seene further, yea and himselfe as desirous also) Checkt his intentyon and retorned to his boate; as holding it much better to please the king (with whome and all of his Comaund he had made so faire way) then to prosecute his owne fancye or satisfye our requestes: So vpon one of the little Iletts at the mouth of the falls he sett vp a Crosse with this [*pp.* lxix, 7.] inscription *Iacobus Rex.* 1607. and his owne name belowe: At the erecting hereof we prayed for our kyng and our owne prosperous succes in this his Actyon, and proclaymed him kyng, with a greate showte. The king *Pawatah* was now gone (and as we noted somewhat Distasted with our importunity of proceeding vp further) and all the Salvages likewise save *Nauiraus*, who seeing vs set vp a Crosse with such a shoute, began to admire; but our Captayne told him that the two Armes of the Crosse signifyed king *Powatah* and himselfe, the fastening

of it in the myddest was their vnited Leaug, and the shoute the reverence he Dyd to *Pawatah*, which cheered *Nauiraus* not a little. [1607]

Also (which I have omytted) our Captayne before *Pawatah* Departed shewed him that if he would, he would gyve the *Wiroans* of *Monanacah* into his handes, and make him king of that Country, making signes to bring to his ayde. 500. men, which pleased the king muche, and vpon this (I noted) he told vs the tyme of the yere when his enemyes assaile him.

So farr as we could Discerne the River above the overfall, it was full of huge Rockes: About a myle of[f], it makes a pretty bigg Iland; It runnes up betweene highe Hilles which increase in height one aboue another so farr as wee sawe. Now our kynde Consortes relatyon sayth (which I dare well beleeve, in that I found not any one report false of the River so farr as we tryed, or that he tolde vs vntruth in any thing ells whatsoeuer) that after a Dayes iorney or more, this River Devydes it selfe into two branches, which both come from the mountaynes *Quirank*. Here he whispered with me that theer *caquassan* was gott in the bites of Rockes and betweene Cliffes in certayne vaynes. [¶¶. xli, xliii, lv.]

Having ended thus of force our Discovery, our Captayne intended to call of kyng *Pawatah*, and sending *Nauiraus* vp to him he came Downe to the water syde; where he went a shore single vnto him, presented him with a Hatchet, and staying but till *Nauiraus* had tolde (as we trewly perceived) the meaning of our setting vp the Crosse, which we found Dyd exceedingly reioyce him, he came a boorde, with the kyndest farewell that possible might be. Now at our putting of[f] the boate, *Nauiraus* willed vs to make a shout, which we Dyd two severall times, at which ye king and his company weaved their skinnes about their heades answering our shout with gladnes in a frendly fashion. [¶¶. lxix, 7.]

This night (though late) we came to *Arahatec Ioy*, where we found the king ready to entertayne vs, and had provided some victualls for vs, but he tolde vs he was very sick, and not able to sitt vp long with us, so we repaired aborde.

Monday he came to the water syde, and we went a shore to him agayne. He tolde vs that our hott Drynckes May 25.

[1607] he thought caused his greefe, but that he was well agayne, and we were very wellcome. He sent for another Deere which was roasted and after sodd for us (as before) Our Captayne caused his Dynner to be Dressed a shore also. Thus we satt banquetting all the forenoone. some of his people led vs to their houses, shewed vs the growing of their Corne and the maner of setting it, gave us Tobacco, wallnutes, mulberyes, strawberryes, and Respises. One [*pp.* 74, 369.] shewed us the herbe called in their tongue *wisacan*, which they say heales poysoned woundes, it is like lyverwort or bloudwort. One gaue me a Roote wherwith they poison their Arrowes. they would shew vs any thing we Demaunded, and laboured very much by signes to make vs vnderstand their Languadge.

Nauiraus our guyde and this kings brother made a complaint to *Arahatec*, that one of his people prest into our boate to[o] vyolently vpon a man of ours; which Captaine *Newport* (vnderstanding the pronenes of his owne men to such iniuryes) misconstruing the matter, sent for his owne man, bound him to tree before King *Arahatec*, and with a Cudgell soundly beate him. the king perceiveing the error, stept vp and stayde our Captaynes hand And sytting still a while, he spyed his owne man that Dyd the iniurye: upon which he silently rose, and made towardes the fellow, he seeing him come, runn away, after ran the king, so swiftly as I assure my selfe he might gyve any of our Company. 6. score [yards] in. 12. with the king ran also Dyvers others, who all returning brought Cudgells and wandes in their hands all to be tewed, as if they had beaten him extreamly.

At Dynner our Captayne gaue the kyng a glasse and some Aquavitæ therin, shewing him the benefytt of the water, for which he thanckt him kindly: and taking our Leaue of him, he promised to meete vs at a point not farr of: where he hath another house, which he performed withall, sending men into the woodes to kill a Dere for vs if they could. This place I call *mulbery shade*. He caused heere to be prepared for us *pegatewk-Apyan* which is bread [*pp.* lxix, 62.] of their wheat made in Rolles and Cakes; this the weomen make, and are very clenly about it; we had parched meale, excellent good; sodd beanes, which eate as sweete as

filbert kernells in a maner, strawberryes and mulberyes new shaken of the tree dropping on our heads as we satt: He made ready a land turtle which we eate, and shewed that he was hartely reioyced in our Company. He was Desirous to haue a musket shott of[f], shewing first the maner of their owne skirmishes, which we perceive is violent Cruell and full of Celerity; they vse a tree to Defend them in fight, and having shott an Enemy that he fall, they maull him with a short wodden sworde. Our Captayne caused a gentleman Discharge his peece Souldyer like before him, at which noyse he started, stopt his eares, and exprest much feare, so likewise all about him; some of his people being in our boate leapt over boorde at the wonder hereof: but our course of kyndnes after, and letting him to witt that wee neuer vse this thunder but against our enemyes, yea and that we would assist him with thes to terrify and kill his Adversaryes, he rejoyced the more, and we found it bred a better affectyon in him towards vs; so that by his signes we vnderstood he would or long be with us at our ffort. Captayne *Newport* bestowed on him a redd wa[i]stcote, which highly pleased him, and so Departed, gyving him also. 2. shouts as the boate went of[f]. [1607] [*pp.* 72, 367]

This night we went some mile, and ankored at a place I Call *kynd womans care* which is mile from *Mulbery shade.* Here we came within night, yet was there ready for vs of bread new made, sodden wheate and beanes, mullberyes, and some fishe vndressed more then all we could eate. Moreover thes people seemed not to craue any thing in requitall, Howbeit our Captain voluntarily distributed guifts.

Tuesday we parted from *kynd womans care*, and by Directyon of *Nauiraus* (who still accompanyed in the boate with vs) went a shore at a place I call *Queene Apumatecs bowre.* He caryed vs along through a plaine lowe grownd prepared for seede, part wherof had ben lately Cropt: and assending a pretty Hill, we sawe the Queene of this Country comminge in selfe same fashion of state as *Pawatah* or *Arahatec*; yea rather with more maiesty: she had an vsher before her who brought her to the matt prepared vnder a faire mulbery tree, where she satt her May. 26. [*pp.* lxv, 7, 25, 400.]

[1607] Downe by her selfe with a stayed Countenance. she would permitt none to stand or sitt neere her: she is a fatt lustie manly woman: she had much Copper about her neck, a Crownet of Copper upon her hed: she had long black haire, which hanged loose downe her back to her myddle, which only part was Covered with a Deares skyn, and ells all naked. She had her woemen attending on her adorned much like her selfe (save they wanted ye Copper). Here we had our accustomed Cates, Tobacco and wellcome. Our Captayne presented her with guyfts liberally, whervpon shee cheered somewhat her Countenance; and requested him to shoote o[f] a peece, wherat (we noted) she shewed not neere the like feare as *Arahatec* though he be a goodly man. She had much Corne in the grownd: she is subiect to *Pawatah* as the rest are; yet within herselfe of as greate authority as any of her neighbour *Wy[r]oances*. Captayne *Newport* stayd here some. 2. houres and Departed.

Now leaving her, *Nauiraus* Dyrected us to one of king *Pamaunches* howses some. 5. myle from the *Queenes Bower*.

Here we were entertayned with greate ioye and gladnes, the people falling to Daunce, the weomen to preparing vitailes, some boyes were sent to Dive for muskles, they gaue vs Tobacco, and very kyndly saluted vs.

This kyng [*Opechancanough*] (sitting in maner of the rest) so set his Countenance stryving to be stately, as to our seeming he became foole. Wee gaue him many presentes, and certifyed him of our Iorney to ye falles our League with the greate kyng *Pawatah*, a most certayne frendship with *Arahatec* and kynde entertaynment of the Queene: that we were professed Enemyes to the *Chessepians*, and would assist kyng *Pawatah* against the *Monanacans*; with this he seemed to be much reioyced; and he would haue had our Captayne staye with him all night, which he refused not, but single with the king walked aboue two flight shott, shewing therby his trew meaning without Distrust or feare. Howbeit, we followed a loofe o[f], and coming up to a gallant Mulbery tree, we founde Divers preparing vittailes for vs: but the kyng seing our intentyon was to accompany our Captaine, he altered his purpose and weaved vs in kyndnes to our boate. This *Wyroans Pamaunche* I holde to inhabite a Rych land of

Copper and pearle. His Country lyes into the land to another Ryver, which by relatyon and Descriptyon of the Salvages comes also comes also from the Mountaynes *Quirank*, but a shorter Iorney. The Copper he had, as also many of his people, was very flexible, I bowed a peece of the thicknes of a shilling rounde about my finger, as if it had ben lead: I found them nice in parting with any; They weare it in their eares, about their neckes in long lynckes, and in broade plates on their heades: So we made no greate enquyry of it, neither seemed Desirous to have it. The kyng had a Chaine of pearle about his neck thrice Double, the third parte of them as bygg as pease, which I could not valew lesse worth then. 3. or. 400. *li* had the pearle ben taken from the Muskle as it ought to be. His kyngdome is full of Deare (so also is moste of all the kyngdomes:) he hath (as the rest likewise) many ryche furres. This place I call *Pamaunches pallace*, howbeit by *Nauiraus* his wordes the kyng of *Winauh* is possessor hereof. The platt of grownd is bare without wood some. 100. acres, where are set beanes, wheate, peaze, Tobacco, Gourdes, pompions, and other thinges vnknowne to us in our tongue. [1607]

Now having left this kyng in kyndnes and frendship: we crossed over the water to a sharpe point, which is parte of *Winauk* on *Salisbury* syde (this I call *careles point*). Here some of our men went a shore with *Nauiraus*, mett. 10. or. 12. Salvages, who offering them neither victualls nor Tobacco, they requitted their Courtesy with the like, and left them.

This night we came to point *Winauk*, right against which we rested all night.

There was an olde man with King *Pamaunche* (which I omitted in place to specify) who wee understood to be. 110. yere olde; for *Nauiraus* with being with vs in our boate had learned me so much of the Languadg[e], and was so excellently ingenious in signing out his meaning, that I could make him vnderstand me, and perceive him also wellny in any thing. But this knowledg[e] our Captaine gatt by taking a bough and singling of the leaues, let one drop after another, saying *caische* which is. 10. so first *Nauiraus* tooke. 11. beanes and tolde them to vs, pointing to this olde fellow, then 110. beanes; by [p. lxx.] [pp. 45, 381]

[1607] which he awnswered to our Demaund for. 10. yeares a beane, and also euery yere by it selfe. This was a lustye olde man, of a sterne Countenance, tall and streight, had a thinne white beard, his armes overgrowne with white haires, and he went as strongly as any of the rest.

May 27. Wensday we went a shore at Point *Winauk*, where *Nauiraus* caused them to goe a fisshing for us, and they brought us in a shorte space good store: Thes seemed our good frindes but (the cause I knowe not) heere [*pp. 7, 92.*] *Nauiraus* tooke some Conceyt, and though he shewed no discontent, yet would he by no meanes goe any further with vs, saying he would goe vp to kyng *Arahatek*, and then within some three dayes after he would see vs at our ffort. This greeved our Captayne very Deeply, for the loving kyndnes of this fellow was such as he trusted himselfe with vs out of his owne Country, intended to come to our fforte, and as wee came he would make frendship for vs, before he would lett vs goe a shore at any place, being (as it seemed) very carefull of our safety.

So our Captayne made all haste home, Determyning not to stay in any place as fearing some disastrous happ at our forte. Which fell out as we expected, thus.

After our Departure they seeldome frequented our ffort, but by one or two single now and then, practising vpon oportunity, now in our absence, perceiving there secure Caryadg[e] in the fort; and the xxvith of May being ye Day before our returne, there came aboue. 200. of them with their kyng and gave a very furious Assault to our fort, endaungering their overthrowe, had not the Shippes ordinance with their small shott daunted them: They came vp allmost into the ffort, shot through the tents, appeared in this Skirmishe (which indured hott about an hower) a very valiant people: they hurt vs. 11. men (wherof one Dyed after) and killed a Boy, yet perceived they not this Hurt in vs. We killed Dyvers of them, but one wee sawe them tugg of[f] on ther backes, and how many hurt we knowe not. A little after they made a huge noyse in the woodes, which our men surmised was at ye burying of their slayne men. ffoure of the Counsell that stood

in front were hurt in mayntayning the fforte, and our president Master *Wynckfeild* (who shewed himselfe a valiant Gentleman) had one shott cleane through his bearde, yet scaped hurte. [1607]

Thus having ended our Discovery, which we hope may tend to the glory of God, his Maiestes Renowne, our Countryes profytt, our owne advauncing and fame to all posterity: we settled our selues to our owne safety, and began to fortefye; Captayne *Newport* worthely of his owne accord causing his Sea men to ayde vs in the best parte therof.

Thursday we laboured, pallozadoing our fort. 28.

Fryday the salvages gave on againe, but with more feare, not daring approche scarce within musket shott: they hurt not any of us, but finding one of our Dogges, they killed him: they shott aboue. 40. arrowes into, and about the forte. 29.

Satterday, we were quyet. 30.

Sunday they came lurking in the thickets and long grasse; and a Gentleman one *Eustace Clovell* vnarmed stragling without the ffort, shot. 6. Arrowes into him, wherwith he came runinge into the ffort, crying Arme Arme, thes stycking still: He lyved. 8. Dayes, and Dyed. The Salvages stayed not, but run away.

Monday some. 20. appeared, shott Dyvers Arrowes at randome which fell short of our fforte, and rann away. June 1.

Tuesday } quyet and wrought upon fortification, Clap- 2.
Wensday } boord, and setting of Corne. 3.

Thursday by breake of Day. 3. of them had most adventurously stollen under our Bullwark and hidden themselves in the long grasse; spyed a man of ours going out to doe naturall necessity, shott him in the head, and through the Clothes in two places but missed the skynne. 4.

Fryday. quyet. 5.

Satterday there being among the Gentlemen and all the Company a murmur and grudg[e] against certayne preposterous proceedinges, and inconvenyent Courses, [they] put up a Petytion to the Counsell for reformatyon. 6.

Sonday. no accydent 7.

[1607] 8. Monday, Master *Clovell* Dyed that was shott with. 6. Arrowes sticking in him. This afternoone. 2. salvages presented themselues vnarmed a farr of[f] Crying *Wingapoh*; there were also three more having bowe and arrowes: these we Conjectured came from some of those kinges with whom we had perfect league: but one of our Gentlemen garding in the woodes and having no Comaundement to the contrary shott at them: at which (as their Custome is) they fell downe, and after run away: yet farther of[f] we heard them crye *Wingapoh* notwithstanding.

9. Tuesday in cutting downe a greate oke for Clapboord, there issued out of the hart of the tree the quantity of two barricoes of liquor, in taste as good as any vyneger, save a little smack it tooke of the oke.

10. Wensday the Counsell scanned the Gentlemans Petityon: Wherin Captayne *Newport* shewing himselfe no lesse Carefull of our Amitye and Combyned frendship, then became him in the deepe Desire he had of our good; vehemently with ardent affectyon wonne our hartes by his fervent perswasyon, to vniformity of Consent, and Callmed that, out of our Loue to him, with ease, which I doubt without better satisfactyon had not contentedly ben caryed. Wee confirmed a faythfull loue one to another, and in our hartes subscribed an obedyence to our Superyours this Day. Captaine *Smyth* was this Day sworne one of the Counsell, who was elected in England.

11. Thursday, Articles and orders for Gentlemen and Soldyers were vpon the Court of Garde, and Content was in the Quarter.

12. Fryday, Cutting downe another tree, the like accident of vineger proceeded.

13. Satterday. 8. salvages lay close among the weedes and long grasse: and spying one or two of our Maryners Master *Ihon Cotson* and Master *Mathew ffitch* by themselves, shott *Mathew ffytch* in the somwhat dangerously, and so rann away this Morning. Our Admiralls [*flagship's*] men gatt a Sturgeon of. 7. foote long which Captayne *Newport* gaue vs.

14. Sondaye, two salvages presented themselves vnarmed, to whome our President and Captaine *Newport* went out. one of these was that fellow I call in my Relatyon of

Discovery our kinde Consort, being hee we mett at *Turkye* [1607]
Ile. These certifyed vs who were our frendes, and who [*pp.* xli, xliii, xlvii.]
foes, saying that king *Pamaunke* kyng *Arahatec*, the kyng
of *Youghtamong*, and the king of *Matapoll* would either
assist vs or make vs peace with *Paspeiouk*, *Tapahanauk*,
Wynauk, *Apamatecoh* and *Chescaik*, our Contracted Enemyes:
He counselled vs to Cutt Downe the long weedes rounde
about our fforte, and to proceede in our sawing: Thus
making signes to be with vs shortly agayne, they parted.

Monday, we wrought vpon Clapborde for *England*. 15.

Tuesday, two salvages without from *Salisbury* syde 16.
being *Tapahanauks* Country, Captayne *Newport* went to
them in the barge ymagining they had ben our Sonday
frendes: but thes were *Tapahanauks* and cryed (treacher-
ously) *Wingapoh*, saying their king was on the other syde
of a point, where had our Barge gone it was so shold
water as they might have effected their villanous plott:
but our Admirall tolde them *Tapahanauk* was *matah* and
chirah, wherat laughing they went away.

Wensdaye. 17.
Thursdaye. 18.
Frydaye. } no Accydent. 19.
Satterday. 20.

Sondaye, we had a Communyon: Captaine *Newport* 21.
Dyned a shore with our Dyet, and invited many of us to
Supper as a farewell/

[*Endorsed*]

Capten *Newports* relation of *Virginia*
Discovery.

[From this endorsement, it would seem that whoever wrote this "relatyon," it was the official one presented by NEWPORT on his return home.

This *Relatyon* is followed by]

The Discription of the now discovered River and Country of *Virginia*; with the liklyhood of ensuing ritches, by *Englands* ayd and industry./

A Breif discription of the People./

DUDLEY CARLETON.

Letter to JOHN CHAMBERLAIN.

18 *August* 1607.

[*Extract.*] [*State Papers, Domestic. James* I. (1607) Vol. 28, No. 34.

[1607] MAster *Chamberlain*, you may whilst you liue confess your obligation to Sir *W. Cope, &c.*

And now you have all our domestike newes, for publike you shall vnderstand, that Captaine *Newport* is come from owr late adventurers to *Virginia* hauing left them in an Island in the midst of a great river 120 mile into the land. They write much commendations of the aire and the soile and the commodities of it: but siluer and golde haue they none, and they can not yet be at peace with the inhabitants of the cuntrie. They haue fortified themselfs and built a small towne which they call *James-towne*, and so they date theyr letters: but the towne me thincks hath no gracefull name, and besides the *Spaniards* who thinck it no small matter of moment how they stile theyr new populations will tell us I dowbt it comes too neere *Villiaco*.

One Captaine *Waiman* a speciall favorit of Sir *Walter Copes* was taken the last weeke in a port in Kent shipping himself for *Spaine* with intent as is thought to have betraied his frends and shewed the *Spaniards* a meanes how to defeat this *Verginian* attempt. The great counsell of that State hath resolved of a dubble supplie to be sent thether with all diligence. The opinion is now generally that the Peace will be made in the low cuntreys.

Sir *Richard Spencer* saw not the king, *etc.*

from London this 18th of August. 1607.

Yours most assuredly

[*Added below.*] DUDLEY CARLETON.

Master *Porie* tells me of a name giuen by a *Duchman* who wrote to him in Latin from the new towne in *Verginia*, *Jacobopolis*, and Master *Warner* hath a letter from Master *George Percie* who names theyr towne *James-fort*, which we like best of all the rest because it comes neere to *Chemes-ford*.

[Rev. SAMUEL PURCHAS.]

Observations gathered out of *A Discourse of the Plantation of the Southerne Colonie in* Virginia *by the* English, 1606:

Written by that Honorable Gentleman, Master GEORGE PERCY.

[From the Rev. S. PURCHAS's *Pilgrimes*, iv. 1685–1690. *Ed.* 1625. It would be very desirable to find the manuscript, of the beginning of which PURCHAS has here given us a Summary.]

ON Saturday the twentieth of December in the yeere 1606. the fleet fell [*i.e.*, *down the Thames*] from *London*, and the fift of Ianuary we anchored in the *Downes*: but the winds continued contrarie so long, that we were forced to stay there some time; where wee suffered great stormes, but by the skilfulnesse of the Captaine wee suffered no great losse or danger. **[1606–7]** [*These side-notes are chiefly by the Rev.* S. Purchas.]

The twelfth day of February [1607] at night, we saw a blazing Starre; and presently [came] a storme.

The three and twentieth day [*of March* 1607], we fell [in] with the Iland of *Mattanenio*, in the West *Indies*. The next day [24 *Mar.* 1607

1607] The foure and twentieth day [*of March*], we anchored at *Dominico*, within fourteene degrees of the Line: a very faire Iland, the Trees full of sweet and good smels; [and] inhabited by many Sauage *Indians*. They were at first very scrupulous to come aboord vs. Wee learned of them afterwards, that the *Spaniards* had giuen them a great ouerthrow on this Ile; but when they knew what we were, there came many to our ships with their Canoas; bringing vs many kindes of sundry fruites, as Pines, Potatoes, Plantons, Tobacco, and other fruits; and *Roane* Cloth [in] abundance, which they had gotten out of certaine *Spanish* ships that were cast away vpon that Iland. We gaue them Kniues, [and] Hatchets for exchange; which they esteeme much. Wee also gaue them Beades, [and] Copper Iewels which they hang through their nosthrils, ears, and lips, very strange to behold.

Captaine *Smith* was suspected for a supposed Mutinie, though neuer no such matter.

Trade at *Dominica*.

Their bodies are all painted red, to keepe away the biting of Muscetos [*mosquitoes*]. They goe all naked without couering. The haire of their head is a yard long, all of a length, pleated in three plats hanging downe to their wastes. They suffer no haire to grow on their faces. They cut [*tattoo*] their skinnes in diuers workes. They are continually in warres; and will eate their enemies when they kill them, or any stranger if they take them. They will lap vp mans spittle, whilst one spits in their mouthes, in a barbarous fashion like Dogges. These people and the rest of the Ilands in the West *Indies*, and *Brasill*, are called by the names of *Canibals*, that will eate mans flesh. These people doe poyson their Arrow heads, which are made of a fishes bone. They worship the Deuill for their God, and haue no other beliefe.

Brutishnesse of the *Dominicans*.

Whilest we remayned at this Iland, we saw a Whale chased by a Thresher and a Sword-fish. They fought for the space of two houres. We might see the Thresher with his flayle lay on the monstrous blowes which was strange to behold. In the end, these two fishes brought the Whale to her end.

Fight betwixt a Whale, the Thresher and Sword-fish.

The sixe and twentieth day [*of March*, 1607], we had sight of *Mari*[*a*]*galanta*: and the next day [27 *March*], wee sailed with a slacke saile, alongst the Ile of *Guadalupa*; where we went ashore, and found a Bath which was

Mar[*ia*]*galanta*.

Guadalupa.

Bath very hot.

so hot that no man was able to stand long by it. Our Admirall [*here designating the Chief in command, not the flagship*], Captaine *Newport*, caused a piece of Porke to be put in it; which boyled it so, in the space of halfe an hour, as no fire could mend it. Then we went aboord, and sailed by many Ilands, as *Mounserot* [*Montserrat*] and an Iland called Saint *Christopher*; both vninhabited. [1607]

About two a clocke in the afternoone [28 *March*], wee anchored at the Ile of *Meuis* [*i.e., Nevis*]. There the Captaine landed all his men, being well fitted with Muskets and other conuenient Armes; [and] marched a mile into the Woods: being [*where they were*] commanded to stand vpon their guard, fearing the treacherie of the *Indians*; which is an ordinary vse amongst them, and all other Sauages on this Ile. We came to a Bath standing in a Valley betwixt two Hils, where wee bathed our selues; and found it to be of the nature of the Bathes [*mineral springs*] in *England*, some places hot and some colder: and men may refresh themselues as they please. *Meuis.* Bath at *Meuis.*

Finding this place to be so conuenient for our men to auoid diseases which will breed in so long a Voyage, wee incamped ourselues on this Ile sixe dayes [28 *Mar.*–2 *April* 1607], and spent none of our ships victuall, by reason our men, some went a hunting, some a fouling, and some a fishing: where we got great store of Conies, sundry kinds of fowles, and great plentie of fish. We kept Centinels and Courts *de gard* [*Pickets*] at euery Captaines quarter, fearing wee should be assaulted by the *Indians*, that were on the other side of the Iland. Wee saw [*met with*] none, nor were molested by any: but some few we saw as we were a hunting on the Iland. They would not come to vs by any meanes, but ranne swiftly through the Woods to the Mountaine tops, so we lost the sight of them: whereupon we made all the haste wee could to our quarter [*camp*], thinking there had beene a great ambush of *Indians* there abouts. [*pp.* xxxii, 910.] Commodities there.

We past into the thickest of the Woods, where we had almost lost our selues. We had not gone aboue halfe a mile amongst the thicke, but we came into a most pleasant Garden: being a hundred paces square on euery side, hauing many Cotton-trees growing in it with abundance

[1607] of Cotton-wooll, and many *Guiacum* trees. Wee saw the goodliest tall trees growing so thicke about the Garden, as though they had been set by Art: which made vs maruell very much to see it.

Aprill. The third day [*of April*, 1607], wee set saile from *Meuis*.

The fourth day [*April*], we sailed along by *Castutia* [*St. Eustatius*] and by *Saba*.

This day [4 *April* 1607], we anchored at the Ile of *Virgines*, in an excellent Bay able to harbour a hundred [**1686**] Ships. If this Bay stood in *England*, it would be a great profit and commoditie to the Land. On this Iland wee caught great store of Fresh-fish and abundance of Sea Tortoises. Tortoises, which serued all our Fleet three daies, which were in number eight score persons. We also killed great store of wilde Fowle. Wee cut the Barkes of certaine Trees which tasted much like Cinnamon, and very hot in the mouth. This Iland in some places hath very good ground, [and] straight and tall Timber. But the greatest discommoditie that wee haue seene on this Iland is that it hath no Fresh-water, which makes the place void of any Inhabitants.

Vpon the sixt day [*of April*], we set saile and passed by *Becam* [*Bicque*], and by Saint *Iohn de porto rico*.

The seuenth day [*of April*], we arriued at *Mona:* where wee watered: which we stood in great need of, seeing *Meuis* water vnwholesome. that our water [*obtained at* Nevis] did smell so vildly that none of our men was able to indure it.

Whilst some of the Saylers were a filling the Caskes with water, the Captaine and the rest of the Gentlemen, and other Soldiers, marched vp in the Ile sixe myles; thinking to find some other prouision to maintaine our victualling. As we marched, we killed two wild Bores; and saw a huge wild Bull, his hornes was an ell betweene the two tops. We also killed Guanas [*lizards*], in fashion of a Serpent, and speckled like a Toade vnder the belly.

These wayes that wee went, being [*were*] so troublesome and vilde, going vpon the sharpe Rockes, that many of our men fainted in the march: but, by good fortune, wee lost *Ed. Brookes* faint with thirst. none but one *Edward Brookes* Gentleman; whose fat melted within him, by the great heate and drought of

the Countrey. We were not able to relieue him nor our selues; so he died in that great extreamitie. [1607]

The ninth day [*of April*], in the afternoone, we went off with our Boat, to the Ile of *Moneta*, some three leagues from *Mona*: where we had a terrible landing, and a troublesome getting vp to the top of the Mountaine or Ile; [it] being a high firme Rocke, ste[e]p, with many terrible sharpe stones. After wee got to the top of the Ile, we found it to bee a fertill and a plaine ground, full of goodly grasse, and abundance of Fowles of all kindes. They flew ouer our heads as thicke as drops of Ha[i]le. Besides they made such a noise, that wee were not able to heare one another speake. Furthermore, wee were not able to set our feet on the ground, but either on Fowles or Egges which lay so thicke in the grasse. Wee laded two Boats full in the space of three houres, to our great refreshing.

Moneta.

Store of fowles.

The tenth day [*of April*], we set saile, and disimboged out of the West *Indies*; and bare oure course Northerly.

The fourteenth day, we passed the Tropicke of *Cancer*.

The one and twentieth day, about fiue a clocke at night, there began a vehement tempest, which lasted all the night, with winds, raine, and thunders, in a terrible manner. Wee were forced to lie at Hull that night, because we thought wee had beene neerer land then wee were.

The next morning, being the two and twentieth day, wee sounded; and [also] the three and twentieth, and foure and twent[i]eth day: but we could find no ground.

The fiue and twentieth day, we sounded, and had no ground at an hundred fathom.

We were driuen to try [*lie at hull*] that night[25*th*]; and by the storme, were forced neere the shoare; not knowing where we were.

The six and twentieth day of Aprill [1607], about foure a clocke in the morning, wee descried the Land of *Virginia*.

They land in *Virginia*

The same day, wee entred into the Bay of *Chesupioc* directly, without any let or hindrance.

There wee landed and discouered a little way: but wee could find nothing worth the speaking of, but faire meddowes and goodly tall Trees; with such Fresh-waters running through the woods, as I was almost rauished at the first sight thereof.

[1607] At night, when wee were going aboard, there came the Sauages creeping vpon all foure, from the Hills, like Beares; with their Bowes in their mouthes: [who] charged vs very desperately in the faces, [and] hurt Captaine *Gabri[e]ll Archer* in both his hands, and a sayler in two places of the body very dangerous[ly]. After they had spent their Arrowes, and felt the sharpnesse of our shot; they retired into the Woods with a great noise, and so left vs.

[*pp.* xliv, 5, 31, 91, 387, 896.]

The seuen and twentieth day [*of April* 1607], we began to build vp our Shallop. The Gentlemen and Souldiers marched eight miles vp into that land. We could not see a Sauage in all that march. We came to a place where they had made a great fire, and had beene newly a ro[a]sting Oysters. When they perceiued our comming, they fled away to the Mountaines, and left many of the Oysters in the fire. We eat some of the Oysters, which were very large and delicate in taste.

The eighteenth [*or rather* 28*th*] day [*of April*], we la[u]nched our Shallop. The Captaine and some Gentlemen went in her, and discouered vp the Bay.

We found a Riuer on the South side, running into the Maine [*up into the mainland*]: we entered it and found it very shoald water, not for any Boats to swim. Wee went further into the Bay, and saw a plaine plot of ground, where we went on Land; and found the place fiue mile in compasse, without either Bush or Tree. We saw nothing there but a Cannow, which was made out of the whole tree, which was fiue and fortie foot long by the Rule. Vpon this plot of ground, we got good store of Mussels and Oysters, which lay on the ground as thicke as stones. Wee opened some, and found in many of them Pearles.

Wee marched some three or foure miles further into the Woods, where we saw great smoakes of fire. Wee marched to those smoakes, and found that the Sauages had beene there, burning downe the grasse; as wee thought either to make their plantation there, or else to giue signes to bring their forces together, and so to giue vs battell. We past through excellent ground full of Flowers of diuers kinds and colours, and as goodly trees as I haue

seene, as Cedar, Cipresse, and other kindes. Going a little further, we came into a little plat of ground full of fine and beautifull Strawberries, foure times bigger and better then ours in *England*. [**1687**] All this march, we could neither see Sauage nor Towne. [1607]

Straw-berries.

When it grew to be towards night, we stood backe to our Ships, we sounded and found it shallow water for a great way, which put vs out of all hopes for getting any higher with our Ships, which road at the mouth of the Riuer. Wee rowed ouer to a point of Land, where wee found a channell; and sounded six, eight, ten, or twelue fathom: which put vs in good comfort. Therefore wee named that point of Land, Cape *Comfort*.

Point *Comfort*.

The nine and twentieth day, we set vp a Crosse at *Chesupioc* Bay, and named that place Cape *Henry*.

Thirtieth day [*of April*, 1607], we came with our ships to Cape *Comfort*; where we saw fiue Sauages running on the shoare.

Presently the Captaine caused the shallop to be manned; so rowing to the shoare, the Captaine called to them in signe of friendship: but they were at first very timersome, vntil they saw the Captain lay his hand on his heart. Vpon that, they laid downe their Bowes and Arrowes, and came very boldly to vs; making signes to come a shoare to their Towne, which is called by the Sauages, *Kecoughtan*.

Kecoughtan.

Wee coasted to their Towne, rowing ouer a Riuer running into the Maine, where these Sauages swam ouer with their Bowes and Arrowes in their mouthes.

When we came ouer to the other side, there was a many of other Sauages, which directed vs to their Towne, where we were entertained by them very kindly. When we came first a Land they made a dolefull noise, laying their faces to the ground, scratching the earth with their nailes. We did thinke they had beene at their Idolatry. When they had ended their Ceremonies, they went into their houses and brought out mats and laid [them] vpon the ground: the chiefest of them sate all in a rank; the meanest sort brought vs such dainties as they had, and of their bread which they make of their Maiz[e] or Gennea wheat. They would not suffer vs to eat vnlesse we sate

[1607] down, which we did on a Mat right against them. After
Tobacco. we were well satisfied, they gaue vs of their Tabacco, which they tooke in a pipe made artifically of earth as ours are, but far bigger, with the bowle fashioned together with a piece of fine copper.

After they had feasted vs, they shewed vs, in welcome, their manner of dancing, which was in this fashion. One
Singing and Dancing. of the Sauages standing in the midst singing, beating one hand against another; all the rest dancing about him, shouting, howling, and stamping against the ground, with many Anticke tricks and faces, making noise like so many Wolues or Deuils. One thing of them I obserued; when they were in their dance, they kept stroke with their feet iust, one with another; but with their hands, heads, faces and bodies, euery one of them had a seuerall gesture: so they continued for the space of halfe an houre. When they had ended their dance, the Captaine gaue them Beades and other trifling Iewells.

They hang through their eares, Fowles legs. They shaue the right side of their heads with a shell, the left side they weare of an ell long, tied vp with an artificiall knot, with a many of Foules feathers sticking in it. They goe altogether naked, but their priuities are couered with Beasts skinnes beset commonly with little bones, or beasts teeth. Some paint their bodies blacke, some red, with artificiall knots of sundry liuely colours, very beautifull and pleasing to the eye, in a brauer fashion then they in the West *Indies*.

The fourth day of May [1607], we came to the King or Werowance of *Paspihe* [*i.e.*, *Paspahegh*]: where they entertained vs with much welcome. An old Sauage made a
A long oration. long Oration, making a foule noise, vttering his speech with a vehement action; but we knew little what they meant.

Whilst we were in company with the *Paspihes*, the Werowance of *Rapahanna* came from the other side of the Riuer in his Cannoa. He seemed to take displeasure of our being with the *Pasiphes*. He would faine haue had vs come to his Towne, [but] the Captaine was vnwilling. Seeing that the day was so far spent, he returned backe to his ships for that night.

The next day, being the fift of May, the Werowance of *Rapahanna* sent a Messenger, to haue vs come to him. We entertained the said Messenger, and gaue him trifles which pleased him. Wee manned our shallop with Muskets and Targatiers sufficiently: [and] this said Messenger guided vs where our determination was to goe. [1607]

When wee landed, the Werowance of *Rapahanna* came downe to the water side with all his traine, as goodly men as any I haue seene of Sauages or Christians: the Werowance comming before them playing on a Flute made of a Reed, with a Crown of Deares haire colloured red, in fashion of a Rose fastened about his knot of haire, and a great Plate of Copper on the other side of his head; with two long Feathers in fashion of a paire of Hornes placed in the midst of his Crowne. His body was painted all with Crimson, with a Chaine of Beads about his necke; his face painted blew besprinkled with siluer Ore as wee thought; his eares all behung with Braslets of Pearle; and in either eare a Birds Claw through it, beset with fine Copper or Gold. A Flute made of a Reed. [*p.* 418.]

He entertained vs in so modest a proud fashion, as though he had beene a Prince of ciuill gouernment; holding his countenance without laughter or any such ill behauiour. He caused his Mat to be spred on the ground, where hee sate downe with a great Maiestie, taking a pipe of Tabacco: the rest of his company standing about him.

After he had rested a while, he rose, and made signes to vs to come to his Towne. He went formost, and all the rest of his people and our selues followed him vp a steepe Hill where his Palace was settled. Wee passed through the Woods in fine paths, hauing [*that had*] most pleasant Springs which issued from the Mountaines. Wee also went through the goodliest Corne fieldes that euer was seene in [**1688**] any Countrey. When wee came to *Rapahannos* Towne, hee entertained vs in good humanitie.

The eight day of May [1607], we discouered vp the Riuer. We landed in the Countrey of *Apamatica*. At our landing, there came many stout and able Sauages to resist vs, with their Bowes and Arrowes, in a most warlike manner: with their swords at their backes beset with [*pp.* xlix, 7, 25, 400.]

[1607] sharpe stones, and pieces of yron able to cleaue a man in sunder.

Amongst the rest, one of the chiefest, standing before them cross-legged, with his Arrow readie in his Bow in one hand, and taking a Pipe of Tobacco in the other, with a bold vttering of his speech, demanded of vs, [of] our being there, willing vs to bee gone. Wee made signes of peace; which they perceiued in the end, and let vs land in quietnesse.

Archers Hope. The twelfth day [*of May*], we went backe to our ships; and discouered a point of Land, called *Archers Hope*, which was sufficient with a little labour to defend our selues against any Enemy. The soile was good and fruitfull, with excellent good Timber. There are also great store of Vines, in bignesse of a mans thigh, running vp to the tops of the Trees in great abundance. We also did see many Squirels, Conies, Black Birds with crimson wings, and diuers other Fowles and Birds of diuers and sundrie collours of crimson, Watchet, Yellow, Greene, Murry, and of diuers other hewes naturally without any art vsing. We found store of Turkie nests and many Egges. If it had not beene disliked because the ship [*p.* xc.] could not ride neere the shoare, we had setled there to all the Collonies contentment.

The thirteenth day, we came to our seating place in *Paspihas* Countrey, some eight miles from the point of Land [of] which I made mention before: where our shippes doe lie so neere the shoare that they are moored to the Trees in six fathom water.

Their Plantation at *Iames* Towne. The fourteenth day [*of May* 1607], we landed all our men; which were set to worke about the fortification, and others some to watch and ward as it was conuenient.

The first night of our landing, about midnight, there came some Sauages sayling close to our quarter. Presently there was an alarum giuen; vpon that, the Sauages ran away, and we [were] not troubled any more by them that night.

Not long after, there came two Sauages that seemed to be Commanders, brauely drest, with Crownes of coloured haire vpon their heads; which came as Messengers from the *Werowance* of *Paspihæ*, telling vs that their *Werowance*

was comming, and would be merry with vs with a fat Deare. [1607]

The eighteenth day, the *Werowance* of *Paspihæ* came himselfe to our quarter, with one hundred Sauages armed, which garded him in a very warlike manner with Bowes and Arrowes; thinking at that time to execute their villany. *Paspihæ* made great signes to vs to lay our Armes away: but we would not trust him so far. He seeing he could not haue conuenient time to worke his will, at length made signes that he would giue vs as much land as we would desire to take. Land given

As the Sauages were in a throng in the Fort, one of them stole a Hatchet from one of our company, which spied him doing the deed: whereupon he tooke it from him by force, and also strooke him ouer the arme. Presently another Sauage seeing that, came fiercely at our man, with a wooden sword, thinking to beat out his braines. The *Werowance* of *Paspiha* saw vs take to our Armes, [and] went suddenly away with all his company, in great anger. These Sauages are naturally great theeues.

The nineteenth day, my selfe and three or foure more walking into the Woods, by chance wee espied a pathway like to an *Irish* pace: wee were desirous to knowe whither it would bring vs. Wee traced along some foure miles, all the way as wee went, hauing the pleasantest Suckles, the ground all flowing ouer with faire flowers of sundry colours and kindes, as though it had beene in any Garden or Orchard in *England*. There be many Strawberries, and other fruits vnknowne. Wee saw the Woods full of Cedar and Cypresse trees, with other trees [out of] which issues our sweet Gummes like to Balsam. Wee kept on our way in this Paradise. At length, wee came to a Sauage Towne, where wee found but few people. They told vs the rest were gone a hunting with the *Werowance* of *Paspiha*. We stayed there a while, and had of them Strawberries and other things. In the meane time, one of the Sauages came running out of his house with a Bowe and Arrowes, and ranne mainly through the Woods. Then I beganne to mistrust some villanie, that he went to call some companie, and so betray vs. Wee made all haste away wee could. One of the Sauages

[1607] brought vs on the way to the Wood side, where there was a Garden of Tobacco and other fruits and herbes. He gathered Tobacco, and distributed to euery one of vs; [and] so wee departed.

The twentieth day, the *Werowance* of *Paspiha* sent fortie of his men with a Deere, to our quarter: but they came more in villanie than any loue they bare vs. They faine would haue layne in our Fort all night, but wee would not suffer them for feare of their treachery.

One of our Gentlemen hauing a Target which hee trusted in, thinking it would beare out a slight shot, hee set it vp against a tree, willing one of the Sauages to shoot: who tooke from his backe an Arrow of an elle long, drew it strongly in his Bowe, shoots the Target a foote thorow, or better: which was strange, being that a Pistoll could not pierce it. Wee seeing the force of his Bowe, afterwards set him vp a steele Target: he shot again, and burst his arrow all to pierces. He presently pulled out another Arrow, and bit it in his teeth, and seemed to bee in a great rage: so hee went away in great anger.

Their arrowes.

Their Bowes are made of tough Hasell, their strings of Leather, their Arrowes of Canes or Hasell, headed with very sharpe stones, and are made artificially like [1689] a broad Arrow: other some of their Arrowes are headed with the ends of Deeres hornes, and are feathered very artificially.

[*pp.* 68, 364.]

Paspihia was as good as his word; for hee sent Vension, but the Sawse came within a few dayes after.

Yellow haired *Virginian.*

At Port *Cotage* in our Voyage vp the Riuer, we saw a Sauage Boy about the age of ten yeeres, which had a head of haire of a perfect yellow, and a reasonable white skinne; which is a Miracle amongst all Sauages.

[*p.* xliii.]

River of *Pohatan.*

This Riuer which wee haue discouered is one of the famousest Riuers that euer was found by any Christian. It ebbes and flowes a hundred and threescore miles, where ships of great burthen may harbour in safetie. Wheresoeuer we landed vpon this Riuer, wee saw the goodliest Woods as Beech, Oke, Cedar, Cypresse, Wal-nuts, Sassafras, and Vines in great abundance which hang in great clusters on many Trees, and other Trees

vnknowne ; and all the grounds bespred with many sweet and delicate flowres of diuers colours and kindes. There are also many fruites as Strawberries, Mulberries, Rasberries, and Fruites vnknowne. There are many branches of this Riuer, which runne flowing through the Woods with great plentie of fish of all kindes; as for Sturgeon, all the World cannot be compared to it. In this Countrey I haue seene many great and large Medowes * hauing excellent good pasture for many Cattle. There is also great store of Deere both Red and Fallow. There are Beares, Foxes, Otters, Beuers, Muskats, and wild beasts vnknowne. [1607]

* Low Marshes.

The foure and twentieth day, wee set vp a Crosse at the head of this Riuer, naming it *Kings Riuer*, where we proclaimed *Iames* King of *England* to haue the most right vnto it. When wee had finished and set vp our Crosse, we shipt our men and made for *Iames* Fort. [*p.* xlvi, 7.]

By the way, wee came to *Pohatans* Towre, where the Captaine [*i.e.*, *Newport*] went on shore, suffering none to goe with him. Hee presented the Commander of this place, with a Hatchet; which hee tooke ioyfully, and was well pleased. [*p.* xlvii.]

Wee came downe the Riuer.

But yet the Sauages murmured at our planting in the Countrie, whereupon this *Werowance* made answere againe very wisely of a Sauage, Why should you bee offended with them, as long as they hurt you not, nor take any thing away by force. They take but a little waste ground, which doth you nor any of vs any good.

I saw Bread made by their women, which doe all their drugerie. The men takes their pleasure in hunting and their warres, which they are in continually, one Kingdome against another. The manner of baking of bread is thus. After they pound their wheat into flowre, with hote water they make it into paste, and worke it into round balls and Cakes; then they put it into a pot of seething water: when it is sod throughly, they lay it on a smooth stone, there they harden it as well as in an Ouen. [*p.* xlviii.]

Bread how made.

There is notice to be taken to know married women from Maids. The Maids you shall alwayes see the fore part of their head and sides shauen close; the hinder part very long, which they tie in a pleate hanging downe to

Distinct habit of Maids and Wives.

[1607] their hips. The married women weares their haire all of a length, and [it] is tied of that fashion that the Maids are. The women kinde in this Countrey doth pounce and race their bodies, legges, thighes, armes and faces with a sharpe Iron, which makes a stampe in curious knots, and drawes the proportion of Fowles, Fish, or Beasts: then with paintings of sundry liuely colours, they rule it into the stampe which will neuer be taken away, because it is dried into the flesh where it is se[a]red.

Savage 160 yeeres old.

The Sauages beare their yeares well, for when wee were at *Pamonkies*, wee saw a Sauage [who] by their report was aboue eight score yeeres of age. His eyes were sunke into his head, hauing neuer a tooth in his mouth. His haire [was] all gray with a reasonable bigge beard, which was as white as any snow. It is a Miracle to see a Sauage haue any haire on their faces. I neuer saw, read, nor heard, [of] any haue the like before. This Sauage was as lustie and went as fast as any of vs; which was strange to behold.

p. li.]

Bearded.

The fifteenth of Iune [1607], we had built and finished our Fort, which was triangle wise: hauing three Bulwarkes, [one] at euery corner, like a halfe Moone, and foure or fiue pieces of Artillerie mounted in them; [thus] we had made our selues sufficiently strong for these Sauages. We had also sowne most of our Corne on two Mountaines. It sprang [*had sprung*] a mans height from the ground. This Countrey is a fruitfull soile, bearing many goodly and fruitfull Trees, as Mulberries, Cherries, Walnuts, Cedars, Cypresse, Sassafras, and Vines in great abundance.

Captaine *Newports* departure.

Munday the two and twentieth of Iune [1607], in the morning, Captaine *Newport* in the Admirall departed from *Iames* Port for *England*.

Captaine *Newport* being gone from *England*, leauing vs (one hundred and foure persons) verie bare and scantie of victualls; furthermore, in warres and in danger of the Sauages. We hoped after a supply, which Captaine *Newport* promised within twentie weekes. But if the beginners of this action doe carefully further vs, the Country being so fruitfull, it would be as great a profit to

the Realme of *England*, as the *Indies* to the King of *Spaine*. If this Riuer which wee haue found had beene discouered in the time of warre with *Spaine*, it would haue beene a commoditie to our Realme, and a great annoyance to our enemies. [1607]

The seuen and twentieth of Iuly, the King of *Rapahanna* demanded a Canoa, which was restored. [He] lifted vp his hand to the Sunne (which they [**1690**] worship as their God), besides he laid his hand on his heart, that he would be our speciall friend. It is a generall rule of these people; when they swere by their God which is the Sunne, no Christian will keep their Oath better vpon this promise. These people haue a great reuerence to the Sunne aboue all other things: at the rising and the setting of the same, they sit downe lifting vp their hands and eyes to the Sunne, making a round Circle on the ground with dried Tobacco; then they began to pray, making many Deuillish gestures, with a Hellish noise, foming at the mouth, staring with their eyes, wagging their heads and hands in such a fashion and deformitie as it was monstrous to behold.

The Sauages vse to sacrifice to the Sunne.

The sixt of August [1607], there died *Iohn Asbie*, of the bloudie Flixe.

The ninth day, died *George Flowre*, of the swelling.

The tenth day, died *William Bruster* Gentleman, of a wound giuen by the Sauages, and was buried the eleuenth day.

The fourteenth day, *Ierome Alikock*, Ancient [*i.e.*, *Ensign*], died of a wound. The same day, *Francis Midwinter* [died], [and] *Edward Moris* Corporall died suddenly.

The fifteenth day, their died *Edward Browne* and *Stephen Galthorpe*.

The sixteenth day, their died *Thomas Gower* Gentleman.

The seuenteenth day, their died *Thomas Mounslic*.

The eighteenth day, there died *Robert Pennington*, and *Iohn Martine* Gentlemen.

The nineteenth day, died *Drue Piggase* Gentleman.

The two and twentieth day of August [1607], there died Captaine *Bartholomew Gosnold*, one of our Councell: he was honourably buried, hauing all the Ordnance in the Fort shot off, with many vollies of small shot.

Death of Captaine *Bartholomew Gosnold.*

[1607] After Captaine *Gosnol[d]s* death, the Councell could hardly agree by the dissention of Captaine *Kendall*; which [*who*] afterwards was committed about hainous matters which was proued against him.

The foure and twentieth day, died *Edward Harington* and *George Walker*; and were buried the same day.

The sixe and twentieth day, died *Kenelme Throgmortine.*

The seuen and twentieth day, died *William Roods.*

The eight and twentieth day, died *Thomas Stoodie*, Cape Merchant.

The fourth day of September [1607], died *Thomas Iacob* Sergeant.

The fift day, there died *Beniamin Beast.*

Our men were destroyed with cruell diseases, as Swellings, Flixes, Burning Feuers, and by warres; and some departed suddenly: but for the most part, they died of meere famine.

Miserable famine.

There were neuer *Englishmen* left in a forreigne Countrey in such miserie as wee were in this new discouered *Virginia.* Wee watched euery three nights, lying on the bare cold ground, what weather soeuer came; [and] warded all the next day: which brought our men to bee most feeble wretches. Our food was but a small Can of Barlie sod[den] in water, to fiue men a day. Our drinke, cold water taken out of the Riuer; which was, at a floud, verie salt; at a low tide, full of slime and filth: which was the destruction of many of our men.

Thus we liued for the space of fiue months [*August* 1607–8 *Jan.* 1608] in this miserable distresse, not hauing fiue able men to man our Bulwarkes vpon any occasion. If it had not pleased God to haue put a terrour in the Sauages hearts, we had all perished by those vild and cruell Pagans, being in that weake estate as we were; our men night and day groaning in euery corner of the Fort most pittifull to heare. If there were any conscience in men, it would make their harts to bleed to heare the pitifull murmurings and out-cries of our sick men without reliefe, euery night and day, for the space of sixe weekes [? 8 *Aug.*–19 *Sept.* 1607]: some departing out of the World, many times three or foure in a night; in the morning, their

bodies [being] trailed out of their Cabines like Dogges, to be buried. In this sort, did I see the mortalitie of diuers of our people. [1607]

It pleased God, after a while, to send those people which were our mortall enemies, to releeue vs with victuals, as Bread, Corne, Fish, and Flesh in great plentie; which was the setting vp of our feeble men: otherwise wee had all perished. Also we were frequented by diuers Kings in the Countrie, bringing vs store of prouision to our great comfort. Gods goodnesse

The eleuenth day [*of September*, 1607], there was certaine *Articles* laid against Master *Wingfield* which was then President: thereupon he was not only displaced out of his President ship, but also from being of the Councell. Afterwards Captain *Iohn Ratcliffe* was chosen President. [*p.* lxxx.]

The eighteenth day [*of September*], died one *Ellis Kinistone*, which was starued [*frozen*] to death with cold. The same day at night, died one *Richard Simmons*.

The nineteenth day [*of September*], there died one *Thomas Mouton*.

William White (hauing liued with the Natiues) reported to vs of their customes. In the morning, by breake of day, before they eate or drinke, both men, women, and children (that be aboue tenne yeares of age), runnes into the water; there washes themselues a good while till the Sunne riseth: then offer Sacrifice to it, strewing Tobacco on the water or Land, honouring the Sunne as their God. Likewise they doe at the setting of the *Sunne. He was a made man.

* The rest is omitted, being more fully set downe in Captaine *Smiths* Relations.

A Discourse of virginia per : Ed : Ma : wingfield.

This recrimination, which is simply invaluable as regards the early history of the James river Settlement, occupies *pp.* 382–396 of Vol. 250 of the Manuscripts at Lambeth Palace Library. It is written by a scrivener; and was intended to be signed by its Author, see next page.

[*pp.* lxxxii, lxxxvii.] WINGFIELD is herein most bitter against Captain ARCHER, who came home with him, in April 1608, in Captain NEWPORT's ship, *pp.* 105, 408. After ARCHER, he chiefly attacks RATCLIFFE. SMITH and MARTIN come in least for his complaints.

Most important for our present purpose, is the passage at *pp.* lxxxv–lxxxvi, which fixes the extreme dates of SMITH's absence from James town, on his Chickahominy expedition, when he first met POCAHONTAS, to be from the 10th Dec. 1607 to the morning of the 8th Jan. 1608.

[*pp.* 91, lxxiii. lxxxi.] On the whole, it would seem that while this Apology for his Government of the Colony between the 13th May and the 10th September 1607, shews that Captain WINGFIELD did not prove himself equal to the occasion of that most trying time; yet it is clear that he was an English gentleman.

Right worshipfull and more worthy

[1608] MY due respect to your selves, my allegiance (if I may so terme it) to the Virginean action, my good heede to my poore reputacion, thrust a penne into my handes; so iealous am I to bee missing to any of them; if it wandereth in extravagantes, yet shall they not bee idle to those Phisitions, whose loves have vndertaken the saftie and advancement of Virginia.

It is no small comfort that I speake before such gravitie, whose iudgement no forrunner can forestall with any opprobrious vntruth[s], whose wisedomes can easily disroabe malice out of her painted garments from the ever reverenced truth.

I did so faithfully betroth my best indeavors to this noble enterprize, as my carriage might endure no suspition: I never turned my face from daunger, or hidd my handes from labour, so watchfull a Sentinel stood my self to my self.

I know wel a troope of errors continually beseege

mens actions, some of them ceased on by malice, some by ignorance. I doo not hoodwinck my carriage in my self love, but freely and humblie submit it to your grave censures. [1608]

I do freely and truely Anatomize the governement, and governours, that your experience may applie medicines accordinglie; and vpon the truth of this iournall do pledge my faith, and life, and so do rest

Yours to commaund in all service.

[No name, This Dedication was evidently intended to be signed by the Author.]

Here followeth what happined in James Towne, in virginia, after Captayne Newports departure for Engliund/

Captayne *Newport* haueing allwayes his eyes and eares open to the proceedinges of the Collonye, 3 or 4 dayes before his departure, asked the president how he thought himself settled in the gouernment: whose answere was, that no disturbance could indaunger him or the Collonye, but it must be wrought eyther by Captayne *Gosnold*, or Master *Archer*; for the one was strong with freindes and followers, and could if he would; and the other was troubled with an ambitious spirit, and would if he could. [1607]

The Captayne gave them both knowledg[e] of this, the Presidentes opinion; and mooued them, with many intreatyes, to be myndefull of their dutyes to his Majestie and the Collonye/

June, 1607.—The 22th, Captayne *Newport* retorned for *England*; for whose good passadge, and safe retorne wee made many prayers to our allmighty god/

June the 25th, an Indian came to vs from the great *Pcughwaton* with the worde of peace; that he desired greatly our freindshipp; that the wyrounnces, *Paspaheigh* and *Tapahanagh* should be our freindes; that wee should sowe and reape in peace, or els he would make warrs vpon them

[1607] with vs. This message fell out true; for both those wyroaunces haue ever since remayned in peace and trade with vs. Wee rewarded the messinger, with many tryfles, which were great wonders to him./

This *Powatan* dwelleth 10 myles from vs, vpon the River *Pamaonche*, which lyeth North from vs. The *Powatan* in the former iornall mencioned (a dwellar by Captain *Newports* faulls) ys a wyroaunce, and vnder this great *Powaton*, which before wee knew not/

[*p.* xliii.] [*Smith* says at *p.* 531, that he was "the first Christian" the real *Pow[h]atan* ever saw; and that was so late as about 3 Jan. 1608. This is confirmed by *Wingfield* at *p.* lxxxvi.]

July.—The 3 of July, 7 or 8 Indians presented the President a dear from *Pamaonke*, a wyrouance, desiring our friendshipp. They enquired after our shipping; which the President said was gon to *Croatoon*. They feare much our shipps; and therefore he would not haue them thinck it farr from us. Their wyrounce had a hatchet sent hym. They wear well Contented with trifles. A litle after this came a Dear to the President from the Great *Powatan*. He and his Messingers wear pleased with the like trifles. The President likewise bought diuers tymes dear of the Indyans; beavers, and other flesh; which he alwayes caused to be equally deuided among the Collonye/

About this tyme, diuers of our men fell sick. Wee myssed aboue fforty before September did see us; amongst whom was the worthy and religious gentleman Captain *Bartholomew Gosnold*, vpon whose lief stood a great part of the good succes and fortune of our gouernment and Collony. In his sicknes tyme, the President did easily foretell his owne deposing from his Comaund; so much differed the President and the other Councellors in mannaging the government of the Collonye/

July.—The 7th of July, *Tapahanah*, a wyroaunce, dweller on *Salisbery* side, hayled vs with the word of peace. The President, with a Shallopp well manned, went to him. He found him sytting on the ground crossed legged, as is theire Custome, with one attending on him, which did often saie, "This is the wyroance *Tapahanah*;" which he did likewise confirme with stroaking his brest. He was well enough knowne; for the President had sene him diuerse tymes before. His Countynance was nothing cherefull; for wee had not seen him since he was in the feild against vs: but the President would take no knowledg[e] thereof,

and vsed him kindely; giving him a red wa[i]s[t]coat, which he did desire. [1607]

Tapahanah did enquire after our shipping. He receyued answer as before. He said his ould store was spent, that his new was not at full groath by a foote; that as soone as any was ripe, he would bring it; which promise he truly performed.

The . . . of . . . Master *Kendall* was put of from beeing of the Counsell, and committed to prison; for that it did manyfestly appeare he did practize to sowe discord betweene the President and Councell/

Sicknes had not now left us vj able men in our Towne. gods onely mercy did now watch and warde for us: but the President hidd this our weakenes carefully from the salvages; neuer suffring them, in all his tyme, to come into our Towne.

Septem.—The vjth of September, *Paspaheigh* sent vs a boy that was run from vs. This was the first assurance of his peace with vs; besides wee found them no Canyballs.

The boye obserued the men and women to spend the most part of the night in singing or howling, and that euery morning the women carryed all the litle children to the rivers sides; but what they did there, he did not knowe/

The rest of the wyroaunces doe likewise send our men runnagates, to vs home againe, vsing them well during their being with them; so as now, they being well rewarded at home at their retorne, they take litle ioye to trauell abroad without pasportes/

The Councell demanded some larger allowance for them selues, and for some sick their fauorites; which the President would not yeeld vnto without their warrantes/

This matter was before propounded by Captain *Martyn*, but so nakedly as that he neyther knew the quantity of the stoare to be but for xiij weekes and a half, under the Cap Merchaunts hand. He prayed them further to consider the long tyme before wee expected Captain *Newportes* retorne; the incertainty of his retorne, if God did not fauour his voyage; the long tyme before our haruest would be ripe; and the doubtfull peace that wee had with the Indyans, which they would keepe no longer then opertunity served to doe vs mischeif/

[1607] It was then therefore ordered, that euery meale of fish or fleshe should excuse the allowance for poridg, both against the sick and hole.

The Councell, therefore, sitting againe vpon this proposition, instructed in the former reasons and order, did not thinke fit to breake the former order by enlarging their allowance, as will appeare by the most voyces reddy to be shewed vnder their handes.

Now was the comon store of oyle, vinigar, sack, and aquavite all spent, saueing twoe Gallons of each: the sack reserued for the Comunion table, the rest for such extreamityes as might fall upon us, which the President had onely made know[n]e to Captain *Gosnold*; of which course he liked well. The vessells wear therefore boonged vpp. When Master *Gosnold* was dead, the President did acquaint the rest of the Counsell with the said remnant: but, Lord, how they then longed for to supp vp that litle remnant! for they had nowe emptied all their owne bottles, and all other that they could smell out/

A litle while after this, the Councell did againe fall vpon the President for some better allowance for themselues, and some few the sick, their privates. The President protested he would not be partial, but if one had any thing of him, euery man should haue his portion according to their places. Nevertheles that vpon their warrantes, he would deliuer what pleased them to demand. Yf the President had at that tyme enlarged the proportion according to their request, without doubt, in very short tyme, he had starued the whole Company. He would not ioyne with them therefore in such an ignorant murder without their own warrant/

The President well seeing to what end their ympacience would growe, desired them earnestly and often tymes to bestowe the Presidentshipp amonge themselues; that he would obey, a private man, as well as they could comand. But they refused to discharge him of the place; sayeing they mought not doe it, for that hee did his Maiestie good service in yt/

In this meane tyme, the Indians did daily relieue vs with corne and fleshe, that, in three weekes, the President had reared vpp xx men able to worke; for, as his stoare

increased, he mended the comon pott: hee had laid vp besides prouision for 3. weekes, wheate before-hand. [1607]

By this tyme, the Councell had fully plotted to depose *Wingfeild*, the then President; and had drawne certeyne *Artycles* in wrighting amongst themselues, and toke their oathes vpon the Evangelistes to obserue them: th' effect whereof was, first/

To depose the then President

To make Master *Ratcliff* the next President

Not to depose the one th' other

Not to take the deposed President into Councell againe

Not to take Master *Archer* into the Councell, or any other, without the Consent of euery one of them. To theis they had subscribed, as out of their owne mouthes, at seuerall tymes, it was easily gathered/

Thus had they forsaken his Maiesties government sett vs downe in the instruccions, and made it a Triumvirat/

It seemeth Master *Archer* was nothing acquainted with theis *artycles*. Though all the rest crept out of his noates and Comentaryes that were preferred against the President, yet it pleased god to Cast him into the same disgrace and pitt that he prepared for another, as will appeere hereafter.

Septem.—The 10 of September, Master *Ratcliff*, Master *Smyth*, and Master *Martynn*, came to the Presidentes Tennt with a warrant, subscribed vnder their handes, to depose the President; sayeing they thought him very unworthy to be eyther President or of the Councell, and therefore discharged him of bothe.

He answered them, that they had eased him of a great deale of care and trouble; that, long since, hee had diuers tymes profered them the place at an easier rate; and, further, that the President ought to be remoued (as appeereth in his Maiesty's instruccions for our government) by the greater number of xiij voyces, Councellors; that they were but three, and therefore wished them to proceede advisedly. But they told him, if they did him wrong, they must answere it. Then said the deposed President, "I ame at your pleasure, dispose of me as you will, without further garboile."

I will now wright what followeth in my owne name, and giue the new President his title. I shall be the briefer

[1607] being thus discharged. I was comytted to a Serieant, and sent to the Pynnasse; but I was answered with, "If they did me wronge, they must answere it/"

The 11th of September, I was sent for to come before the President, and Councell vpon their Court daie. They had now made Master *Archer*, Recorder of *Virginia*. The President made a speeche to the Collony, that he thought it fitt to acquaint them whie I was deposed. I ame now forced to stuff my Paper with frivilous trifles, that our graue and worthy Councell may the better strike those vaynes where the corrupt blood lyeth, and that they may see in what manner of government the hope of the Collony now travayleth/

Ffirst, Master President said that I had denyed him a penny whitle, a chickyn, a spoonfull of beere, and served him with foule corne; and with that pulled some graine out of a bagg, shewing it to the Company/

Then start vp Master *Smyth*, and said that I had told him playnly how he lied; and that I said, though wee were equall heere, yet, if he were in *England*, he would think scorne his man [*i.e.*, *serving man*] should be my companyon/

Master *Martyn* followed with, "He reporteth that I doe slack the service in the Collonye, and doe nothing but tend my pott, spitt, and oven; but he hath starued my sonne, and denyed him a spoonefull of beere. I haue freindes in *England* shal be revenged on him, if euer he come in *London*./" [*Ap.* 107, 411.]

I asked master President if I should answere theis Complaints, and whether he had ought els to charge me withall. With that he pulled out a paper booke, loaded full with *Artycles* against me, and gave them Master *Archer* to reade.

I tould Master President and the Councell, that, by the instruccions for our government, our proceedings ought to be verball, and I was there ready to answere; but they said they would proceede in that order. I desired a Coppie of the *Articles*, and tyme giuen me to answere them likewise by wrighting; but that would not be graunted. I badd them then please themselues. Master *Archer* then read some of the *artycles*; when, on the suddaine, Master President said, "Staie, staie! Wee know not whether he

will abide our Iudgment, or whether he will appeale to the King ; " sayeing to me, " How saie you : Will you appeale to the King, or no ?" I apprehended presently that gods mercy had opened me a waie, through their ignorance, to escape their malice ; for I never knewe how I might demande an appeale : besides, I had secret knowledge how th[e]y had foreiudged me to paie fiue fold for any thing that came to my handes, whereof I could not discharge my self by wrighting; and that I should lie in prison vntil I had paid it / [1607]

The Cape Marchant had deliuered me our marchandize, without any noat of the perticularyties, vnder my hand ; for himself had receyued them in grosse. I likewise, as occation moued me, spent them in Trade or by guift amongst the Indians. So likewise did Captain *Newport* take of them, when he went vp to discouer the kinges river, what he thought good, without any noate of his hand mentioning the certainty ; and disposed of them as was fitt for him. Of these, likewise, I could make no accompt ; onely I was well assured I had neuer bestowed the valewe of three penny whitles to my own vse, nor to the private vse of any other ; for I never carryed any fauorite over with me, or intertayned any thear. I was all one, and one to all.

Vpon theis consideracions, I answered Master President and the Councell, that his Maiestys handes were full of mercy, and that I did appeale to His Maiesties mercy. They then comytted me prisoner againe to the master of ye pynnasse, with theis words, " Looke to him well : he is now the kinges prisoner."

Then Master *Archer* pulled out of his bosome another paper book full of *Artycles* against me, desiring that he might reade them in the name of the Collony. I said I stood there ready to answere any mans complaintt whome I had wronged; but no one man spoke one word against me.

Then was he willed to reade his booke, whereof I complayned ; but I was still answered, " If they doe me wrong, they must answer it." I haue forgotten the most of the *Artycles*, they were so slight (yet he glorieth much in his pennworke). I know well the last : and a speeche that he then made savoured well of a mutyny ; for he desired that by no meanes, I might lye prysoner in the

[1607] Towne, least boath he and others of the Collony should not giue such obedience to their comaund as they ought to doe: which goodly speech of his they easilye swallowed.

But it was vsuall and naturall to this honest gentleman, [*p.* lxxiv.] Master *Archer*, to be allwayes hatching of some mutany; in my tyme, hee might haue appeered an author of 3 seuerall mutynies.

And hee (as Master *Pearsie* sent me worde) had bought some witnesses handes against me to diuers *artycles*, with Indian cakes (which was noe great matter to doe after my deposall, and considering their hungar) perswations and threats. At another tyme, he feared not to saie openly, and in the presence of one of the Councell, that, if they had not deposed me when they did, he hadd gotten twenty others to him self, which should haue deposed me. But this speech of his was likewise easily disiested/

Master *Croftes* feared not to saie, that, if others would ioyne with him, he would pull me out of my seate, and out of my skynn too. Others would saie (whose names I spare), that, vnless I would amend their allowance, they would be their owne caruers. For these mutinus speeches I rebuked them openly, and proceeded no further against them, considering therein of mens liues in the kinges service there. One of the Councell was very earnest with me to take a guard aboute me. I answered him, I would no guard but gods love and my own innocencie. In all theis disorders was Master *Archer* a ringleader.

[11 Sept. 1607, see *p.* lxxx.] When Master President and Master *Archer* had made an end of their *Artycles* aboue mentioned, I was again sent prisoner to the Pynnasse; and Master *Kendall*, takeinge from thence, had his liberty, but might not carry armes/

All this while, the Salvages brought to the Towne such Corne and flesh as they could spare. *Paspaheighe*, by *Tapahanne's* mediation, was taken into friendshipp with vs. The Councillors, Master *Smyth* especially, traded vp and downe the river with the Indyans for corne; which releued the Collony well.

As I understand by report, I am much charged with staruing the Collony. I did allwayes giue euery man his allowance faithfully, both of corne, oyle, aquivite, &c., as

was by the Counsell proportioned: neyther was it bettered after my tyme, untill, towards th' end of March [1608], a Bisket was allowed to euery workeing man for his breakefast, by meanes of the prouision brought vs by Captain *Newport*; as will appeare hereafter. It is further said, I did much banquit and ryot. I never had but one Squirell roasted; whereof I gaue part to Master *Ratcliff* then sick: yet was that Squirell given me. I did never heate a flesh pott but when the comon pot was so used likewise. Yet how often Master Presidentes and the Councellors spittes haue night and day bene endaungered to break their backes,—so laden with swanns, geese, duckes, &c. how many times their flesh pottes haue swelled, many hungry eies did behold to their great longing. And what great Theeues and theeving thear hath been in the Comon stoare since my tyme, I doubt not but is already made knowne to his Maiesties Councell for Virginia. [1607]

The 17th daie of September, I was sent for to the Court to answere a Complaint exhibited against me by *Jehu Robinson*; for that, when I was president, I did saie, hee with others had consented to run awaye with the Shallop to Newfoundland. At an other tyme, I must answere Master *Smyth* for that I had said hee did conceale an intended mutany. I tould Master Recorder, those wordes would beare no actions; that one of the Causes was done without the lymits mencioned in the Patent graunted to vs; and therefore prayed Master President that I mought not be thus lugged with theis disgraces and troubles: but hee did weare no other eis or eares than grew on Master *Archeres* head.

The Iury gaue the one of them [*i.e.*, *Robinson*] 100*li* and the other [*i.e.*, *Smith*, *see p.* 389] twoo hundred pound damages for slaunder. Then Master Recorder did very learnedly comfort me, that, if I had wrong, I might bring my writ of error in *London*; whereat I smiled.

I, seeing their law so speedie and cheape, desired iustice for a copper kettle which Master *Crofte* did deteyne from me. Hee said I had giuen it him. I did bid him bring his proofe for that. Hee confessed hee had no proofe. Then Master President did aske me if I would be sworne I did not giue it him. I said I knew no cause whie to

[1607] sweare for myne owne. He asked Master *Croftes* if hee would make oath, I did give it him; which oathe he tooke, and wann my kettle from me, that was in that place and tyme, worth half his waight in gold. Yet I did understand afterwards that he would haue given *John Capper* the one half of the kettle to haue taken the oath for him; but hee would [have] no copper on that price.

I tould Master President I had not known the like lawe, and prayed they would be more sparing of law vntill wee had more witt or wealthe; that lawes were good spies in a populous, peaceable, and plentifull country, whear they did make the good men better, and stayed the badd from being worse; yet wee weare so poore as they did but rob us of tyme that might be better ymployed in service in the Collonye.

[*p.* 12.] The . . . daie of . . . the President did beat *James Read*, the Smyth. The Smythe stroake him againe. For this he was condempned to be hanged; but, before he was turned of[f] the lather, he desired to speak with the President in private, to whome he accused Master *Kendall* of a mutiny, and so escaped himself. What indictment Master Recorder framed against the Smyth, I knowe not; but I knowe it is familiar for the President, Counsellors, and other officers, to beate men at their pleasures. One lyeth sick till death, another walketh lame, the third cryeth out of all his boanes; which myseryes they doe take vpon their consciences to come to them by this their Almes of beating. Wear this whipping, lawing, beating, and hanging, in *Virginia*, knowne in *England*, I fear it would driue many well affected myndes from this honourable action of *Virginia*.

This Smyth comyng aboord the Pynnasse, with some others, aboute some busines, 2 or 3 dayes before his arraignement, brought me Comendacions from Master *Pearsye*, Master *Waller*, Master *Kendall*, and some others, saieing they would be glad to see me on shoare. I answered him, they were honest gentlemen, and had carryed themselues very obediently to their gouernors. I prayed god that they did not thinck of any ill thing vnworthie themselues. I added further, that vpon Sundaie, if the weathiar were faire, I would be at the sermon. Lastly, I said that I was so sickly, starued, lame, and did lye so could and wett in the Pynnasse, as I would be

dragged thithere before I would goe thither any more. [1607]
Sundaie proued not faire: I went not to the Sermon/

The . . . daie of . . ., Master *Kendall* was executed; being shott to death for a mutiny. In th' arrest of his iudgment, he alleaged to Master President yat his name was *Sicklemore*, not *Ratcliff*; and so had no authority to pronounce Iudgment. Then Master *Martyn* pronounced Iudgment.

Somewhat before this tyme, the President and Councell had sent for the keyes of my Coffers, supposing that I had some wrightings concerning the Collony. I requested that the Clearke of the Councell might see what they tooke out of my Coffers; but they would not suffer him or any other. Vnder cullor heereof, they took my books of Accompt, and all my noates that concerned the expences of the Collony, and instructions vnder the Cape Marchantes hande of the stoare of prouision, diuers other bookes and trifles of my owne proper goods, which I could neuer recouer. Thus was I made good prise on all sides.

The . . . daie of . . ., the President comaunded me to come on shore; which I refused, as not rightfully deposed, and desired that I mought speake to him and the Councell in the presence of 10 of the best sorte of the gentlemen. With much intreaty, some of them wear sent for. Then I tould them, I was determined to goe into *England* to acquaint our Councell there with our weaknes. I said further, their lawes and government was such as I had no ioye to liue under them any longer; that I did much myslike their triumverat, haueing forsaken his Maiesties instruccions for our government, and therefore praied there might be more made of the Councell. I said further, I desired not to goe into *England*, if eyther Master President or Master *Archer* would goe, but was willing to take my fortune with the Collony; and did also proffer to furnish them with 100*li* towards the fetching home [of] the Collonye, if the action was given ouer.

They did like of none of my proffers, but made diuers shott att mee in the Pynnasse. I, seeing their resolucions, went ashoare to them; whear, after I had staied a while in conference, they sent me to the Pynnasse againe.

Decem.—The 10th of December, Master *Smyth* went vp the Ryuer of the *Chechohomynies* to trade for corne. He was desirous to see the heade of that riuer; and, when it

[1607-8] was not passible with the Shallop, he hired a Cannow and an Indian to carry him vp further. The river the higher grew worse and worse. Then hee went on shoare with his guide, and left *Robinson* and *Emmery*, twoe of our men, in the cannow; which were presently slayne by the Indians, *Pamaonkes* men, and hee himself taken prysoner, and, by the meanes of his guide, his lief was saved; and *Pamaonche*, haueing him prisoner, Carryed him to his neybors wyroances to see if any of them knew him for one of those which had bene some twoe or three yeeres before vs, in a River amongst them Northward, and taken awaie some Indians from them by force. At last he brought him to the great *Powaton* (of whome before wee had no knowledg), who sent him home to our Towne the viijth of January [1608].

[*ff.* xliii, lxxvi, 531.]

During Master *Smythes* absence, the President did swear Master *Archer* one of the Councell, contrary to his oath taken in the *Artycles* agreed vpon betweene themselues (before spoken of), and contrary to the Kinges instruccions, and without Master *Martyns* consent; whereas there weare no more but the President and Master *Martyn* then of the Councell/

[*f.* lxxix.]

Master *Archer*, being settled in his authority, sought how to call Master *Smyths* lief in question, and had indited him vpon a Chapter in *Leuiticus* for the death of his twoe men. Hee had had his tryall the same daie of his retorne, and, I believe, his hanging the same, or the next daie, so speedie is our lawe thear: but it pleased god to send Captain *Newport* vnto us the same eevening, to our vnspeakable comfortes; whose arryuall saued Master *Smyths* leif and mine, because hee took me out of the pynnasse, an[d] gaue me leave to lye in the Towne. Also by his comyng was prevented a Parliament, which ye newe Counsailour, Master Recorder, intended thear to summon. Thus error begot error/

Captayne *Newport* haueing landed, lodged and refreshed his men, ymploied some of them about a faire stoare house, others about a stove, and his Maryners aboute a Church; all which workes they finished cherefully and in short tyme/

January.—The 7 [? 17] of January [1608], our towne was almost quite burnt, with all our apparell and prouision; but Captain *Newport* healed our wants, to our great comforts, out of the great plenty sent vs by the prouident and loving care of our worthie, and most worthie Councell.

This Vigilant Captayne, slacking no oportunity that might advaunce the prosperity of the Collony, haueing setled the Company vppon the former workes, took Master *Smyth* and Master *Scrivener* (an other Councellor of *Virginia*, vpon whose discretion liveth a great hope of the action), went to discouer the River *Pamaonche*, on the further side whearof dwelleth the Great *Powaton*, and to trade with him for Corne. This River lyth North from vs, and runneth East and West. I haue nothing but by relation of that matter, and therefore dare not make any discourse thereof, lest I mought wrong the great desart which Captain *Newportes* loue to the action hath deserued; especially himself being present, and best able to giue satisfaccion thereof. I will hasten therefore to his retorne. [1608]

March.—The 9th of Marche, he retorned to *James Towne* with his Pynnasse well loaden with corne, wheat, beanes, and pease, to our great comfort and his worthi commendacions/

By this tyme, the Counsell and Captayne haueing intentiuely looked into the Carryadge both of the Councellors and other officers, remoued some officers out of the stoare; and Captain *Archer*, a Councellor, whose insolency did looke vpon that litle himself with great sighted spectacles, derrogating from others merrites by spueing out his venemous libells, and infamous chronicles vpon them, as doth appeere in his owne hand wrighting; ffor which, and other worse trickes, he had not escaped ye halter, but that Captain *Newport* interposed his advice to the Contrarye/ [p. lxxiv.]

Aprill.—Captayne *Newport*, haueing now dispatched all his busines and set the Clocke in a true course (if so the Councell will keep it), prepared himself for *England* vpon the xth of Aprill, and arryued at *Blackwall* on sunday, the xxjth of Maye, 1608.

FINIS.

I humbly craue some patience to answere many scandalus imputacions which malice, more than malice, hath scattered vpon my name, and those frivolous greevances obiected against me by

[1608] the President and Councell; and though *nil conscire sibi* be the onely maske that can well couer my blushes, yett doe I not doubt but this my Appologie shall easily wipe them awaie.

It is noysed that I combyned with the *Spanniards* to the distruccion of the Collony: That I ame an Atheist, because I carryed not a *Bible* with me, and because I did forbid the preacher to preache: that I affected a Kingdome; That I did hide of the comon prouision in the ground./

I confesse I haue alwayes admyred any noble vertue and prowesse, as well in the *Spanniards* (as in other Nations); but naturally I haue alwayes distrusted and disliked their neighborhoode.

I sorted many bookes in my house, to be sent vp to me at my goeing to *Virginia*; amongst them a Bible. They were sent me vp in a Trunck to *London*, with diuers fruite, conserues, and preserues, which I did sett in Master *Crofte* his house in *Ratcliff*. In my beeing at *Virginia*, I did vnderstand my trunck was thear broken vp, much lost, my sweetmeates eaten at his Table, some of my bookes which I missid to be seene in his handes; and whether amongst them my *Bible* was so ymbeasiled or mislayed by my seruantes, and not sent me, I knowe not as yet.

Two or three sundayes morninges, the Indians gaue vs allarums at our towne. By that tymes they weare answered, the place about us well discouered, and our devyne service ended, the daie was farr spent. The preacher [*R. Hunt*] did aske me if it weare my pleasure to haue a sermon: hee said hee was prepared for it. I made answere, that our men were weary and hungry, and that he did see the tyme of the daie farr past (for at other tymes hee neuer made such question, but the service finished, he began his sermon); and that if it pleased him, wee would spare him till some other tyme. I never failed to take such noates by wrighting out of his doctrine as my capacity could comprehend, vnless some raynie day hindred my indeauour.

My mynde never swelled with such ympossible mountebank humors as could make me affect any other Kingdome then the kingdom of heaven/

As truly as god liueth, I gaue an ould man, then the

keeper of the private stoure, 2 glasses with sallet oyle which I brought with me out of *England* for my private stoare, and willed him to bury it in the ground, for that I feared the great heate would spoile it. Whatsoeuer was more, I did never consent vnto or knewe of it; and as truly was it protested vnto me, that all the remaynder before mencioned of the oyle, wyne, &c., which the President receyued of me when I was deposed, theye themselues poored into their owne bellyes. [1608]

To the Presidentes and Councelles obiections I saie, that I doe knowe Curtesey and Civility became a governor. No penny whitle was asked me, but a kniffe, whereof I had none to spare. The Indyans had long before stoallen my knife. Of chickins I never did eat but one, and that in my sicknes. Master *Ratcliff* had before that time tasted of 4 or 5. I had by my owne huswiferie bred aboue 37, and the most part of them of my owne poultrye; of all which, at my comyng awaie, I did not see three liueing. I never denyed him (or any other) beare, when I had it. The corne was of the same which wee all liued vpon.

Master *Smyth*, in the tyme of our hungar, had spred a rumor in the Collony, that I did feast myself and my seruantes out of the comon stoare, with entent (as I gathered) to haue stirred the discontented company against me. I tould him privately, in Master *Gosnolds* tent, that indeede I had caused half a pinte of pease to be sodden with a peese of pork, of my owne prouision, for a poore old man, which in a sicknes (whereof he died) he much desired; and said, that if out of his malice he had given it out otherwise, that hee did tell a lye. It was proued to his face, that he begged in *Ireland* like a rogue, without a lycence. To such I would not my name should be a Companyon.

Master *Martins* payns, during my comaund, never stirred out of our towne tenn scoare; and how slack hee was in his watching and other dutyes, it is too well knowne. I never defrauded his sonne of any thing of his own allowance, but gaue him aboue it. I believe their disdainefull vsage and threats, which they many tymes gaue me, would have pulled some distempered speeches out of farr greater Pacyence than myne. Yet shall not [*pp.* 107, 411.]

[1608] any revenging humor in me befoule my penn with their base names and liues here and there. I did visit Master *Pearsie*, Master *Hunt*, Master *Brewster*, Master *Pickasse*, Master *Allicock*, ould *Short* the bricklayer, and diuerse others, at seuerall tymes. I never miskalled at a gentleman at any time/

Concerning my deposing from my place, I can well proue that Master *Ratcliff* said, if I had vsed him well in his sicknes (wherein I find not myself guilty of the contrary), I had never bene deposed.

Master *Smyth* said, if it had not bene for Master *Archer*, I hadd never bene deposed. Since his being here in the Towne, he hath said that he tould the President and Councell that they were frivolous obiections they had collected against me, and that they had not doone well to depose me. Yet, in my conscience, I doe believe him [*Smith*] the first and onely practizer in theis practisses.

[*p.* lxvi.] Master *Archers* quarrell to me was, because hee had not the choise of the place for our plantation; because I misliked his leying out of our towne, in the pinnasse; because I would not sware him of the Councell for *Virginia*, which neyther I could doe or he deserve.

[*p.* xxxii.] Master *Smyths* quarrell, because his name was mencioned in the entended and confessed mutiny by *Galthropp*.

Thomas Wootton the Surieon, because I would not subscribe to a Warrant (which he had gotten drawne) to the Treasurer of *Virginia*, to deliuer him mony to furnish him with drugges and other necessaryes; and because I disallowed his living in the pinnasse, haueing many of our men lyeing sick and wounded in our Towne, to whose dressings by that meanes he slacked his attendance.

Of the same men, also, Captain *Gosnold* gaue me warning, misliking much their dispositions, and assured me they would lay hold of me if they could; and peradventure many, because I held them to watching, warding, and workeing; and the Collony generally, because I would not giue my consent to starue them. I cannot rack one word or thought from myself, touching my Carryadg in *Virginia*, other than is herein set down.

If I may now, at the last, presume vpon your favours, I am an honourable suitor that your owne loue of truth will

vouchsafe to releave me from all false aspertions happining since I embarked me into this affaire of *Virginia*. For my first worke (which was to make a right choise of a spirituall Pastor), I appeale to the remembraunce of my Lord of *Caunterbury* his grace, who gaue me very gracious audience in my request. And the world knoweth whome I took with me [*R. Hunt*]: truly, in my opinion, a man not any waie to be touched with the rebellious humors of a popish spirit, nor blemished with ye least suspition of a factious scismatick, whereof I had a speciall care. [1608] [A. 958.]

For other obiections, if your worthie selues be pleased to set me free, I haue learned to despise ye popular verdict of ye vulgar. I ever chered up myself with a confidence in ye wisdome of graue, iudicious Senatours; and was never dismayed, in all my service, by any synister event: though I bethought me of ye hard beginninges, which, in former ages, betided those worthy spirites that planted the greatest monarchies in *Asia* and *Europe*; wherein I obserued rather ye troubles of *Moses* and *Aron*, with other of like history, then that venom in the mutinous brood of *Cadmus*, or that harmony in ye swete consent of *Amphion*. And when, with ye former, I had considered that even the betheren, at their plantacion of the Romaine Empire, were not free from mortall hatred and intestine garboile, likewise that both ye Spanish and English Records are guilty of like factions, it made me more vigilant in the avoyding thereof: and I protest, my greatest contencion was to prevent contencion, and my chiefest endeavour to preserue the liues of others, though with ye great hazard of my own; for I neuer desired to enamell my name with bloude.

I reioice that my trauells and daungers haue done somewhat for the behoof of *Jerusalem* in *Virginia*. If it be obiected as my ouersight to put my self amongst such men, I can saie for myself, thear wear not any other for our consort; and I could not forsake ye enterprise of opening so glorious a Kingdom vnto ye King, wherein I shall ever be most ready to bestow ye poore remainder of my dayes, as in any other his heighnes' dissignes, according to my bounden duty, with ye vtmost of my poore Tallent.

John Chamberlain.

Letter to Dudley Carleton.
7 July 1608.

[*State Papers, Domestic. James* I. (1608) Vol. 35, No. 13.]

[*Extract.*]

[1608] SIR,—I cannot but commend your memorie that, *etc.*

Here is a ship [*the* Phœnix *under Captain* Nelson] newly come from *virginia* that hath ben long missing, she went out the last yeare in consort with Captain *Newport*, and after much wandering found the port three or fowre days after his departure for *England*, I heare not of any nouelties or other commodities she hath brought more then sweet woode.

Sir *Horace Vere*, *etc.*

From London this 7th of July 1608.

Yours most assuredly

John Chamberlain.

[*Addressed*] *To my assured goode frend*
Master Dudley Carleton
geue these at Eaton.

JOHN CHAMBERLAIN.

Letter to DUDLEY CARLETON.
23 *January* 1609.

[*State Papers, Domestic. James* I. (1609) Vol. 43, No. 39.]

[*Extract.*]

SIR,—You had heard from me on friday, *etc.* [1609]
The least of our East Indian ships called the pinnesse is arrived at *Dartmouth* with a 100 tunne of cloues, without seeing or hearing any thing of her consorts since they parted from the coast of *England*.

Here is likewise a ship newly come from *Virginia* [*under Captain* Newport, *see p.* 128] with some petty commodities and hope of more, as divers sorts of woode for wainscot and other vses, sope ashes, some pitch and tarre, certain unknowne kindes of herbs for dieng, not without suspicion (as they terme yt) of *Cuchenilla*.

I must recall, *etc.*

From London this 23th of January 1608[–9].

Yours most assuredly

JOHN CHAMBERLAIN.

[*Addressed*] *To my assured goode frend*
Master DUDLEY CARLETON.
geue these at Eton.

Captain GABRIEL ARCHER.

Letter from James Town. 31 *August* 1609.

[PURCHAS. *Pilgrims.* iv. 1733. Ed. 1625.]

A Letter of Master GABRIEL ARCHAR, *touching the Voyage of the Fleet of Ships, which arriued at* Virginia, *without Sir* THOMAS GATES *and Sir* GEORGE SVMMERS, 1609.

[1609] FRom *Woolwich* the fifteenth of May, 1609, seuen saile weyed anchor; and came to *Plimmouth* the twentieth day, where Sir *George Somers*, with two small Vessels, consorted with vs. Here we tooke into the *Blessing* (being the ship wherein I went) sixe Mares and two Horses; and the Fleet layed in some necessaries belonging to the action: in which businesse we spent time till the second of Iune. And then wee set sayle to Sea, but crost by South-west windes, we put in to *Faulemouth*, and there staying till the eight of Iune, we then gate out.

[*These side-notes are probably by Rev.* S. Purchas.]

The appointed Course.

Our Course was commanded to leaue the *Canaries* one hundred leagues to the Eastward at least, and to steere away directly for *Virginia*, without touching at the West *Indies*, except the Fleet should chance to be separated, then they were to repaire to the *Bermuda*, there to stay seuen dayes in expectation of the Admiral [*flag ship*]; and if they found him not, then to take their course to *Virginia*.

Now thus it happened; about sixe dayes after [*about* 14 *Iune*] we lost the sight of *England*, one of Sir *George Somers* Pinnasses left our company, and (as I take it) bare vp for *England*; the rest of the ships, *viz.* The *Sea Aduenture* Admirall, wherein was Sir *Thomas Gates*, Sir *George Somer*, and Captaine *Newport*: The *Diamond* Vice-admirall, wherein was Captaine *Ratcliffe*, and Captaine *King*. The *Falcon* Reare-admirall, in which was Captaine *Martin*, and Master *Nellson*: The *Blessing*, wherein I and Captaine *Adams* went: The *Vnitie*, wherein Captaine *Wood*, and Master *Pett* were. The *Lion*, wherein Captaine *Webb* remained: And the *Swallow* of Sir *George Somers*, in which Captaine *Moone*, and Master *Somer* went. In the *Catch* went one *Matthew Fitch* Master: and in the Boat of Sir *George Somers*, called the *Virginia*, which was built in the North Colony, went one Captaine *Davies*, and one Master *Davies*. These were the Captaines and Masters of our Fleet. [1609] The Ships, and chiefe men in the Fleet.

We ran a Southerly course from the Tropicke of *Cancer*, where hauing the Sun within sixe or seuen degrees right ouer our head in Iuly, we bore away West; so that by the feruent heat and loomes breezes, many of our men fell sicke of the *Calenture*, and out of two ships was throwne ouer-board thirtie two persons. The Vice-admiral was said to haue the plague in her; but in the *Blessing* we had not any sicke, albeit we had twenty women and children. Sicknesse and mortalitie at Sea.

Vpon Saint *Iames* day [25 *July*], being about one hundred and fiftie leagues distant from the West *Indies*, in crossing the Gulf of *Bahoma*, there hapned a most terrible and vehement storme, which was a taile of the West *Indian Horacono*; this tempest seperated all our Fleet one from another; and it was so violent that men could scarce stand vpon the Deckes, neither could any man heare another speake. Being thus diuided, euery man steered his owne course; and as it fell out, about fiue or sixe days [2 *or* 3 *August*] after the storme ceased (which endure[d] fortie foure houres in extremitie [25-27 *July*]), the *Lion* first, and after the *Falcon* and the *Vnitie*, got sight of our Shippe, and so we lay away directly for *Virginia*, finding neither current nor winde opposite, as some Terrible tempest. Note. False rumors chargeable.

[1609] haue reported, to the great charge of our Counsell and Aduenturers.

The *Vnity* was sore distressed when she came vp with vs, for of seuenty landmen, she had not ten sound; and all her Sea men were downe but onely the Master and his Boy with one poore sailer: but we relieued them. And we foure consorting, fell into the Kings Riuer [*i.e., James river*] haply the eleuenth of August. In the *Vnity* were borne two children at Sea, but both died: being both Boyes.

Arriuall in *Virginia.*

When wee came to *Iames* Towne, we found a Ship which had bin there in the Riuer a moneth before we came [*i.e., about* 10 *July*]. This was sent out of *England* by our Counsels leaue and authority, to fish for Sturgeon; and to goe the ready way, without tracing through the Torrid Zoan, and shee performed it: her Commander was Captaine *Argoll* (a good Marriner, and a very ciuill Gentleman) and her Master one *Robert Tindall* [*pp.* xxxviii, xli].

State of the Colony.

The people of our Colonie were found all in health (for the most part). Howbeit when Captaine *Argoll* came in, they were in such distresse, for many were dispersed in the Sauages townes, liuing vpon their almes for an ounce of Copper a day; and fourescore liued twenty miles from the Fort and fed vpon nothing but Oysters eight weekes space, hauing no other allowance at all: neither were the people of the Country able to relieue them if they would. Whereupon Captaine *Newport* and others haue beene much to blame to informe the Counsell of such plenty of victuall in this Country, by which meanes they haue beene slacke in this supply to giue conuenient content. Vpon this, you that be aduenturers, must pardon vs, if you finde not returne of Commodity so ample as you may expect, because the law of nature bids vs seeke sustenance first, and then to labour to content you afterwards. But vpon this point I shall be more large in my next Letter.

[*pp.* 155,472.]

Idlenesse and other vices to blame also.

After our foure Ships had bin in harbour a fewe dayes, came in [15 *Aug*] the Viceadmirall, hauing cut her maine Mast ouer boord, and had many of her men very sicke and weake; but she could tell no newes of our Gouernour: and some three or foure dayes after her [18 *Aug.*], came in the *Swallow*, with her maine Mast

ouerboord also; and had a shrewd leake, neither did she see our Admirall. [1609]

Now did we all lament the absence of our Gouernour, for contentions began to grow, and factions, and partakings, &c. Insomuch as the President [*Captain* Smith], to strengthen his authority, accorded with the Mariners, and gaue not any due respect to many worthy Gentlemen that came in our Ships: whereupon they generally (hauing also my consent) chose Master *West*, my Lord *de la War*[*re*]*s* brother, to be their Gouernour, or president *de bene esse*, in the absence of Sir *Thomas Gates*, or if he miscarried by Sea, then to continue till we heard newes from our Counsell in *England*. This choice of him they made not to disturbe the old President during his time [*Captain* Smith's *year of office would have expired in a few days after the writing of this letter, viz.*, 10 *Sept.* 1609: *but he had already during this month of August once given up the Presidency to Captain* Martin, *who resigned it back to him again; see pp.* 162, 481]: but as his authority expired, then to take vpon him the sole goue[r]nment, with such assistants of the Captaines, as discreetest persons as the Colonie afforded.

Some things, partly false rumours, partly factious suggestions, are here left out.

They choose a new Governor.

Hinc illæ lachrymæ. Hence from the male-contents which had beene in *Virginia* before (enemies to the President), raising now ill reports at their comming, of him, arose these stirs and the following miseries in which this Author [*Captain Gabriel Archer*] with almost the whole Colony perished.

Perhaps you shall haue it blazoned a mutenie by such as retaine old malice; but Master *West*, Master *Percie*, and all the respected Gentlemen of worth in *Virginia*, can and will testifie otherwise vpon their oathes. For the Kings Patent we ratified, but refused to be gouerned by the President that now is, after his time was expired; and onely subjected our selues to Master *West*, whom we labour to haue next President.

I cannot certifie you of much more as yet, vntill we grow to some certaine stay in this our state; but by the other Ships you shall know more. So with my harty commendations I cease.

From *Iames* Towne this last of August 1609.

Captain JOHN RATCLIFFE *alias* SICKELMORE.

Letter to the Earl of SALISBURY. 4 *October* 1609.

This letter is written in a scrivener's hand, and is merely signed by the Writer.

[*State Papers, Colonial.* (1574–1621.) Vol. I. No. 19.]

[1609] RIght Honorable, accordinge to your gratious fauour being bound I am bold to write the truth of some late accidentes, be falne his Maiesties *Virginia* collonye.

Sir *Thomas Gates*, and Sir *George Summers* Captaine *Newport* and 180 persons or ther about, are not yet arrived and we much feare they are lost, and alsoe a small pinish. The other shipps came all in but not together; We were thus seperated by a storme; two shipps had great loss of men by the calenture; and most of them all much weatherbeaten. At our arrivall we found an English shipp, riding at *James towne* and Captaine *Argoll* hir commaunder.

We heard that all the Counsell were dead but Captaine *Smith* the President, who reigned sole governer without assistantes and would at first admitt of no councell but [*pp.* 167, 486] himselfe. This man is sent home to answere some misdeameanors, whereof I perswade me he can scarcely clear him selfe from great imputation of blame.

Master *George Pearcye* my Lord of *Northumberlands* brother is elected our President, and Master *West* my Lord *la wars* brother, of the councell, with me and Captaine *Martine*; and some few of the best and worthyest that

inhabite at *James towne* are assistantes in ther advise vnto vs. [1609]

Thus haue we planted 100 men at the falls, and some others vpon a champion, the President is at *James towne*, and I am raysing a fortification vpon point *Comfort*, alsoe we haue been bold to make stay of a small shipp for discouerye and to procure vs victalls, wherof we haue exceedinge much need for the country people set no more then sufficeth each familye a yeare, and the wood is yet so thice, as the labour to prepare so much ground as would be to any purpose is more then we can afford, our number being soe necessarylie dispersed: soe that if I might be held worthye to advise the directors of this busines: I hold it fitt that ther should be a sufficient supply of victualls for one yeare, and then to be sparinge, it would less hinder the collonye.

Thus fearinge to be too offensive in a tedious boldnes, I cease wishinge all hapines to your Honnor, yea wear it in the expense of my life and bloud.

ffrom *James towne* this 4th of October, 1609.

Your Honnors in all obedience and most humble dutye.

[*Signed*] JOHN RADCLYEFFE./S Comenly Called.

[*Addressed*] *To the Right Honorable the Earle of* Salisburye *Lord high Treasurer of England deliuer these.*

[*lower down*] from Virginia.

[*Endorsed*] 1609
4. Oc . . . .
Captaine *John Radcliff*
to my Lord from *Virginia.*

Henry, Earl of Southampton.

Letter to the Earl of Salisbury.
15 *December* 1609.

[*State Papers, Domestic.* James I. (1609) Vol. 50, No. 65.]

[*Extract.*]

My lord:

[1609] Vpon Wedensday morninge [13 *Dec.*] I went to *Newmarkett* and before the Kinge went to dinner I deliuered vnto him what I receaued from your Lordship concerninge, *etc.*

And thus wishinge a longe continewance of your lordships happy fortune I rest

Your lordships most assuredly
to doo you service

H. Southampton.

The 15 of December [*which, in* 1609, *was a Friday*].

Talkinge with the King [*i.e., on Wednesday*, 13 *Dec.*] by chance I tould him of the *Virginia* squirills which they say will fly, wherof there are now diuers brought into England [*evidently in the ship or ships which brought Captain* John Smith *to England*], and hee presently and very earnestly asked mee if none of them was provided for him and whether your Lordship had none for him, sayinge that hee was sure you would gett him one of them. I would not have trobled you with this but that you know so well how hee is affected to these toyes, and with a little enquiry of any of your folkes you may furnish your self to present him att his comminge to *London* which will not bee before wensday next: the monday before to *Theobal*[*d*]*s* and the saterday before that to *Royston*.

[*pp.* cvi. 59, 355.]

Henry Spelman.

Relation of Virginea.

This piece in broken English is a most important contribution to the history of the first colony on the James river, inasmuch as it is the only Eye-witness account, *p.* civ, of the massacre of Captain Ratcliffe and his company by Powhatan; about Nov. 1609, *p.* ciii, or the beginning of the *Starving Time* of 1609–10, *p.* 498.

Spelman was rescued by Captain Argall in Sept. 1610, *p.* 503: but this narrative was evidently not written for some time after; for the writer says at *p.* cx:

Concerninge ther lawes my years and vnderstandinge, made me the less to looke after.

We have therefore approximately dated the narrative 1613, as it was apparently written in England, *p.* civ.

Henry Spelman was the third son of Sir Henry Spelman, the antiquary. He afterwards returned to Virginia, and rose to be a Captain in the colony, and is referred to at *pp.* 172, 498, 503, 528, 606.

This manuscript (now in the possession of James F. Hunnewell, Esq., of Charlston, Massachusetts, U.S.A.) has only been recently printed, under the editorship of Henry Stevens, Esq., F.S.A., in an edition of 100 copies, London, 1872: to which impression, the reader is referred for an account of the singular adventures of the manuscript, until it was sold at Mr. Lilly's sale on 7 July 1871.

Beinge in displeasuer of my frendes, and desirous to see other cuntryes, After [*sum weekes*] three moneths sayle we cum w*i*th prosperus winds in sight of Virginia wher A storme sodenly arisinge seauered our [*ship*] fleete, (w*hi*ch was of x sayle) euery shipp from other, puttinge us all in great daunger for vij or viij dayes togither. But ye storme then ceasing our shipp called y^e^ *vnitye* cam y^e^ [**16**] next morning saffly to an anker at Cape Henry ye daye of October 1609, Wher we found thre other of our fleete, and about a senight after thre more cam thether also. The residew [1609] [*pp.* xcv. xcvi.]

[1609] [*still remayned*] Amongst which was Sir Thomas Gates and Sir George Summers Knights [*who*] wear not [*being*] hard of many monthes after our ariuall.

From Cape Henry we sayled up ye Riuer Powáhtan & *with* in 4 or 5 dayes ariued at James toune, wher we weare ioyfully welcomed by our cuntrymen beinge at that time about 80 persons under the gouer[n]ment of Capt Smith, The Præsident. Hauinge heare unladed our goods and bestowed sum senight or fortnight in vieinge of the cuntry, I was caried By Capt Smith our Presidant to ye Fales, to ye litell Powhatan wher vnknowne to me he [*pp.*163,481.] sould me to him for a towne caled Powhatan and leauinge me *with* him ye [**17**] litle Powhatann, He made knowne to Capt weste how he had bought a toune for them to dwell in [*Wheruppon Capt weste growinge angrye* (*Bycause he had bestowed cost to begine a toune in another place*) *Capt Smith &c.*] desireing that captaine West would come & settle himself there, (but captaine Weste hauing) bestowed cost to begine a toune in another place (misliked it: and vnkindnesse thereuppon ariseing betweene them) Capt Smith at that time [*saying*] repliede litell [*yet*] but afterward [*wrought*] conspired *with* the Powhatan to kill Capt weste, which Plott tooke but smale effect, for in ye [*pp.*165,484.] [*interim*] meane time Capt Smith was Aprehended, and sent abord for England, my self hauenge binn now about vij or viij dayes *with* the litell Powhatan who though he made uery much of me giuinge me such thinges as he had to winn me to live *with* him. [*When*] Yet I desired [**18**] to see our english and therfore made signes unto him to giue me leaue to goe to our ship to feach such thinges as I leafte behind me, which he agreed unto and settinge himselfe doune, he clapt his hand on the ground in token he would stay ther till I returned. But I staying sumwhat to long, at my cumminge [*backe*] to ye place wher I leaft *him* I found him departed whervppon I wente backe to our shipp beinge still in ye Fales and sayled *with* them to James toune, wher not beinge long ther, Before one Thomas Sauage *with* 4 or 5 Indians cam from the great [*pp.* 27, 31, 37, 102, 517.] Powhatan *with* venison to Capt: Percye, who now was president. After the deliuery therof and that he must returne he was loith to goe *with* out sum of his cuntrymen

went *with* him, wher uppon I was apoynted to goe, *which* [1609]
I the more willinglie did, by Reason *that* vitals were scarse
with us, cariinge *with* me [**19**] sum copper and a hatchet [*with me*] *which* I had gotten. [*And*] Cumminge to the Great
Powetan I presented to him such thinges as I had *which*
he tooke, vsinge me uery kindly, [*settinge this Sauage and me at his oune Table messe*]. And After I had bin *with* him
about 3 weekes [? *Nov.* 1609] he sent me backe to our English
bidding me tell them, that if they would bring ther ship,
and sum copper, he would fraught hir backe *with* corne,
which I hauing reported to our English and returning ther
answer to ye Kinge, He before ther cumminge layd plotts
to take them, *which* in sum sort he affected, for xxvj or
vij they killed *which* cam towards land in ther long boate,
and shott many arrows into ye shipp, *which* our men
perseyuing and fearinge the worst, wayed anker and
returned. Now whil this busines was in [*doinge*] action
ye Powhata*n* sends me and one Samwell a Duchma*n* To
a toune about xvj miles [**20**] of, caled Yawtanoone
willinge us ther to stay [*till*] for him, At his cumminge
thether we unders*tood* how althinges had passed by Thomas
Sauage, as before is related, the Kinge in shew made still
much of us yet his mind was much declined from us *which*
made vs feare the worst, and hauing now bin *with* him about
24 or 25 weekes [? *Mar.* 1610], it happned that the Kinge
[of Pasptan] of Patomeck cam to visitt the great Powetan,
wher beinge a while *with* him, he shewed such kindnes to
Sauage Samuell and my self as we determined to goe away
with him, when the daye of his departure was cum, we
did as we agreed and hauenge gone a mile or tow on the
way, Sauage fayned sum excuss of stay & unknowne to us
went backe to the Powetan and acquaynted him *with* our
[*fleinge*] departing *with* ye Patowomeck. The Powetan
presen[t]ly sends after us co*m*mandinge our returne: *which*
we [**21**] [*not beleuinge*] refuseing went still on our way:
and thos[e] that weare sent, went still on *with* us, till one
of them findinge op[p]ortunity on a sudden strooke Samuell [*p.* 487.]
with an axe and killed him, *which* I seinge ran a way
from a monge the cumpany, they after me, the Kinge and
his men after them, who ouertake them heald them, till
I shifted for my self and gott to the Patomeckes cuntry,

[1609-10] W*ith* this Kinge Patomecke I lived a year and more [? *Mar.–Sept.* 1610] at a towne of his called Pasptanzie, untill such
[*f.* 503.] time as an worthy gentelman named Capt: Argall ariued at
Xatuahane. a toune cald Nacottawtanke, but by our english cald Camocacocke, wher he understoo*d* that ther was an english boy named Harry. He desiringe to here further of me cam up the river w*hi*ch the Kinge of Patomeck hearringe sent me to him an*d* I goinge backe agayne brought the kinge to [*him*] ye shipe, wher [**22**] capt: Argall gaue the Kinge [*sum*] copper for me, [and he] w*hi*ch he receyue*d* Thus was I
[*f.* ci.] sett [*free*] at libertye and brought into England.

[*Another version of this passage is given in the last leaf of the Manuscript, which may be the original draught.*]

[fraught hir backe corne w*hi*ch I hauing reported to our English, and returneing their answeare to ye Powhatan. Captaine Ratclyff came w*ith* a shipp w*ith* xxiiij or xxv men to Orohpikes, and leauing his shipp there came by barge w*ith* sixteen men *to* ye Powhatan to Powmunkey where he very curtuously in shew received them by sending the*m* bread and veinson in reward [**23**] whereof Captaine Ratclyff sent him copper and beades and such li*ke* Then Powhatan appointed Cap: Ratclyff a house for him and his men to lye in during the time that thei should [*traff*] traffique, not far from his owne but aboue half a mile from the barge, and himself in the euening comeing to the [*ther*] house slenderly accompanied) welcomed him thither, And [*after Cap. Rat*] returned leauing the dutch man, Savage, and my self behinde him. The next day the Powhatan w*ith* a company of Saluages came to Capt: Ratclyff, and caried our English to their storehouse where their corne was to traffique w*ith* them, giueing them pieces of copper and beades and other things. According to ye proportions of ye basketts of corne w*hi*ch they brought but the Indians dealing deceitfully by pulling or beareing vpp the bottom of their baskets w*ith* their hands soe *tha*t y^e^ [**24**] lesse corne might [*searue to*] fill them. The English men taking exceptions against it and a discontentment riseing vppon it ye king [*conveied himself and*] departed taking me and ye dutchman w*ith* him [and] his wiues hence, And presently a great number Indians *that* lay

lurking in ye woods & corne about began with an oulis and whoopubb and whilest our English men were in hast carieing their corne to their shipps the Indians *that* were hidden in ye corne shott the men as they passed by them and soe killed them all saueing one William Russell and one other whoe being acquainted with ye cuntry escaped to James towne by land.] [25] [1609-10]

Of ther servis to their gods

TO giue sum satisfaction to my frends and contentment unto others, which wish well to this viage, and are desirus to heare ye fashions of that cuntrye: I haue set doune as well as I can, what I obserued in ye time I was amonge them. And therfore first concerninge ther gods, yow must understand that for ye most part they worship ye diuell, which ye coniurers who are ther preests, can make apeare unto them at ther pleasuer, yet neuer ye less in euery cuntry they haue a seuerall Image whom they call ther god. As with the great Pawetan he hath an [26] Image called Cakeres which most comonly standeth at Yaughtawnoone [*in one of ye Kinges houses*] or at Oropikes in a house for that purpose and with him are sett all the Kings goods and presents *that* are sent him, as ye Cornne. But ye beades or Crowne or Bedd which ye Kinge of England sent him are in ye gods house at Oropikes, and in their houses are all ye Kinge ancesters and kindred commonly buried [*commonly*], In ye Patomecks cuntry they haue an other god whom they call Quioquascacke, and unto ther Images they offer Beades and Copper if at any time they want Rayne or haue to much, and though they obserue no day to worshipe ther god: but uppon necessitye, yet onc[e] in the yeare, ther preests which are ther coniurers with ye [*people*] men, weomen, and children doe goe into the woods, wher ther preests makes [27] a great cirkell of fier in ye which after many obseruanses in ther coniurations they make offer of 2 or 3 children to be giuen to ther god if he will apeare unto them and shew his mind whome he [*will haue*] desier. Vppon which offringe they heare a

Caukewis Manato Taukinge souke Quia uasack.

[1609-10] noyse out of ye Cirkell Nominatinge such as he will haue, whome presently they take bindinge them hand and footte and cast them into ye circle of the fier, for be it the Kinges sonne he must be giuen if onc[e] named by ther god, After ye bodies w*hich* are offered are consumed in the fier and ther cerimonees performed the men depart merily, the weomen weaping. [**28**]

Of the cuntry of Virginia

THe cuntry is full of wood [*and*] in sum partes, and water they haue plentifull, they haue marish ground and smale fields, for corne, and other grounds wher on ther Deare, goates, and stages feadeth, ther be in this cuntry Lions, Beares, woulues, foxes, muske catts, Hares [a]fleinge squirells, and other squirels beinge all graye like conyes, great store of foule only Peacockes and common hens wanting: fish in aboundance wher on they liue most part of the Summer time They haue a kind of wheat cald locataunce and Pease and Beanes, [**29**] Great store of walnuts growing in euery place. They haue no orchard frutes, only tow kind of plumbes the one a sweet and lussius plumbe long and thicke in forme and liknes of A Nutt Palme. the other resemblinge a medler But sumwhat sweeter yet not Ætable till they be rotten as ours are. [**30**]

[a] cated assapameek. [*pp.* c, 59, 355.]

Of ther Tounes & buildinges

PLaces of Habitation they haue but feaw for ye greatest toune haue not aboue 20 or 30 houses in it, Ther Biuldinge are made like an ouen w*ith* a litell hole to cum in at But more spatius w*ith* in hauinge a hole in the midest of ye house for smoke to goe out at, The Kinges houses are both broader and longer then ye rest hauinge many darke windinges and turnings before any cum wher the Kinge is, But in that time when they goe a Huntinge ye weomen goes to a place apoynted before, to build houses for ther

husbands to lie in att night carienge matts *with* [**31**] them [1609-10] to couer ther houses *with* all, and as the men goes furthur a huntinge the weomen [*goes before*] follows to make houses, always carrienge ther mattes *with* them ther maner of ther Huntinge is thiss [*wher*] they meett sum 2 or 300 togither and hauinge ther bowes and arrows and euery one *with* a fier [*sti*] sticke in ther hand they besett a great thikett round about, *which* dunn euery one sett fier on the ranke grass [*and*] *which* ye Deare seinge fleeth from ye fier, and the menn cumminge in by a litell and litle inclose*th* ther game in a narrow roome, so as *with* ther Bowes and arrowes they kill them at ther pleasuer takinge ther skinns *which* is the greatest thinge they desier, and sume flesh for ther prouision. [**32**]

Ther maner of mariing

THe custum of ye cuntry is to haue many wiues and to buye them, so *th*at he *which* haue most copper and Beads may haue most wiues, for if he taketh likinge of any woman he makes loue to hir, and seeketh to hir father or kindsfolke to sett what price he must paye for hir, *which* beinge on[c]e agreed on the kindred meett and make good cheere, and when the sume agreed on be payd she shall be deliuered to him for his wife, The cerimony is thus The parents bringes ther daughter betwene them [**33**] (if hir parents be deade then sume of hir kinsfolke, or whom it pleaseth ye king to apoynt (for ye man goes not unto any place to be maried But ye woman is brought to him wher he dwelleth). At hir cumminge to him, hir father or cheefe frends ioynes the hands togither and then ye father or cheef frend of ye man Bringeth a longe stringe of Beades and measuringe his armes leangth therof doth breake it ouer ye hands of thos *th*at are to be married while ther handes be ioyned together, and giues it unto ye womans father or him *that* brings hir, And so *with* much mirth and feastinge they goe togither, When ye Kinge of ye cuntry will haue any wiues he acquaintes his cheef men *with* his purpose, who sends [*for*] into all partes of ye cuntry for ye fayrest and cumliest

[1609-10] mayds out of w*hi*ch ye Kinge taketh his choyse giuen to ther parents what he pleaseth. If any of y^e^ [**34**] Kings [*p.* cxvi.] wiues haue onc[e] a child by him, he [*neuer lieth with hir more*] keepes hir no longer but puts hir from him giuinge hir suffitient Copper and beads to mayntayne hir and the child while it is younge and then [it] is taken from hir and mayntayned by ye King[*s charge*], it now beinge lawfull for hir beinge thus put away to marry with any other, The Kinge Poetan hauinge many wiues when he goeth a Huntinge or to visitt another Kinge vnder him (for he goeth not out of his owne cu*n*try) He leaueth them w*i*th tow ould men who haue the charge on them till his returne.

This Pasptanse was brother to Patomsk. It was my happ to be leaft at one of ye Kings Pasptanses Howses when he went to uisitt another Kinge and two of his wiues wear ther also, after the Kings departure, one of them would goe visitt hir father, [*whos*] hir name was Paupauwiske, and seinge me, willed me [**35**] to goe w*i*th hir and to take hir child and carye him thether in [*his*] my armes, beinge a [*long*] days iouyrnye from ye place wher we dwelt, [*but*] w*hi*ch I refusinge she strook me 3 or 4 blows, but I beinge loith to bear to much gott to hir and puld hir doune giuing hir sum blows agayne w*hi*ch ye other of ye Kings wiues perseyuinge, they both fell on me beatinge me so as I thought they had lamd me, Afterwarde when ye Kinge cam home: in ther presents I acquainted him how they had used me, The King w*i*th out further delay tooke vp a *couwascohocan*, w*hi*ch is a kind of paringe Iron, and strooke at one of them w*i*th such uiolenc[e], as he feld her to the ground in manor deade. I seinge *that*, fled to a Neyghburs house, for feare of ye Kings displeasuer, But his wife cumming againe to hir self: sumwhat apeased his anger so as understandinge wher I was [**36**] by his brother, he sent me his younge child to still, for none could quiet him so well as my selfe, and about midnight he sent for him againe, The next day morninge the King was erlye vpp, and came to the house wher I was: loith I was to see him, yet being cum to him instead of his anger, I found him kind to me, asking me how I did, and whether I was affrayd of him last night, bycause I rann away from him, and hidd my selfe, I being by his speeches sumwhat boulder, Asked him for his Queene, He answered

all was well, and that I should goe home *with* him tellinge me he loued me, and none [*should*] should hurt me. I though loith went *with* him, wher at my cumminge ye Queene looked but discontentedly on me, But hoping on the Kinges promise, I cared ye less for others frownes, knowinge well *that* ye Kinge made ye more of me in [**37**] hope I should healpe him to sum copper, if at any time our english cam into thos parts, *which* I often had promised him to doe, and which was by Capt: Argall Bountifully performed. [**38**] [1609-10]

How the[*y*] *name ther children*

AFter the mother is deliuered of hir child *with* in sum feaw dayes after the kinsfolke and neyburs beinge intreated ther unto, cums unto ye house: wher beinge assembled the father, takes the child in his armes: and declares that his name shall be, as he then calls him, so his name is, *which* dunn ye rest of ye day is spent in feastinge and dauncinge. [**39**]

Ther maner of uisitinge the sicke with ye fation of ther buriall if they dye,

WHen any be sicke among them, ther preests cums unto the partye whom he layeth on the ground uppon a matt And hauing a boule of water, sett betwene him and the sicke partye; and a Rattle by it, The preest kneelinge by the sick mans side dipps his hand into the boule, *which* takinge vp full of watter, he supps into his mouth, spowting it out againe, vppon his oune armes, and brest, then takes he the Rattle, and *with* one hand takes that, and [**40**] *with* the other he beates his brest, makinge a great noyes, *which* hauinge dunn he easilye Riseth (as loith to wake the sicke bodye, first *with* one legge, then *with* the other, And beinge now gott vp, he leaysuerly goeth about ye sicke man shak-

[1609-10] inge his Rattle uery [*easily*] softly ouer all his bodye: and w*ith* his hand he stroketh ye greaued parts of the sicke, then doth he besprinkell him w*ith* water mum[b]linge certayne words ouer him, and so for that time leaue him,

But if he be wounded after thes cerimonys dunn unto him he w*ith* a litle flint stone gasheth the wound makinge it to runn and bleede w*hi*ch he settinge his mouth unto it suckes out, and then aplies a certayne roote betten to powter unto ye Sore.

If he dies his buriall is thus ther is a scaffould built about 3 or 4 yards hye from the ground and the deade bodye wraped in a matt is brought to the place, wher when [**41**] he is layd ther on, the kinsfolke falles a weopinge and make great sorrow, and instead of a dole for him, (the poorer people beinge gott togither) sum of his kinsfolke flinges Beades amonge them makinge them to scramble for them, so *th*at many times diuers doe breake ther armes and legges beinge pressed by the cumpany, this finished they goe to ye parties house wher they haue meat giuen them w*hi*ch beinge Æten all ye rest of the day they spend in singinge and dauncinge vsing then as much mirth as before sorrow more ouer if any of ye kindreds bodies w*hi*ch haue bin layd on ye scaffould should be consumed as nothing is leaft but bonns they take thos bonns from ye scaffould and puttinge them into a new matt, hangs them in ther howses, wher they continew whille ther house falleth and then they are buried in the ruinges of ye house[.] what goods [**42**] the partye leaueth is deuided amonge his wiues and children. But his house he giueth to the wife he liketh best for life: after her death, unto what child he most loueth. [**43**]

The Justis and gouerment

Concerninge ther lawes my years and understandinge, made me the less to looke after bycause I thought *th*at Infidels wear lawless yet when I saw sum put to death I asked the cause of ther offence, for in the time that I was w*ith* ye Patomecke I saw 5 executed 4 for murther of a child (id

est) ye mother, and tow other *th*at did the fact wit*h* hir [1609-10]
and a 4 for consealing it as he passed by, beinge bribed to
hould his pease. and one for robbinge a traueler [**44**] of
coper and beades for to steale ther neyburs corne or
copper is death, or to lye one w*ith* anothers wife is death
if he be taken in the manner. [**45**]

The manor of execution

THos that be conuicted of capitall offences are
brought into a playne place before ye Kinges
house when then he laye, w*hi*ch was at Pomun-
keye the chefest house he hath wher one or tow
apoynted by the Kinge did bind them hand and foote,
w*hi*ch being dunn a great fier was made, Then cam the
officer to thos that should dye, and w*ith* a shell cutt of[f]
ther long locke, w*hi*ch they weare on the leaft side of ther
heade, and hangeth that on a bowe before the Kings house
Then thos for murther wear Beaten w*ith* staues till ther
bonns [**46**] weare broken and beinge aliue weare flounge [*pp.* 81, 377.]
into the fier, the other for robbinge was knockt on y^e^
heade and beinge deade his bodye was burnt. [**47**]

The manor of settinge ther corne with ye gatheringe and Dressing.

THey take most commonly a place about ther
howses to sett ther corne, w*hi*ch if ther be
much wood, in that place the[y] cutt doune the
greate trees sum half a yard aboue the ground,
and ye smaller they burne at the roote pullinge a good
part of barke from them to make them die, and in this place
they digg many holes w*hi*ch before the English brought
them scauels and spades they vsed to make w*ith* a crooked
peece of woode beinge scraped on both sides in fation of
a gardiners paring Iron. they [**48**] put in to thes holes
ordenarily 4 or 5 curnels of ther wheat and 2 beanes like

[1609-10] french beanes, *wh*ich when the wheat doe growe vp hauinge a straw as bigg as a canne reede the beanes runn vp theron like our hopps on poles, The eare of ye wheat is of great bignes in lenght and cumpace and yet for all the greatnes of it euery stalke hath most commonly sum fower or fiue eares on it, Ther corne is sett and gathered about the time we vse, but ther maner of ther gatheringe is as we doe our [*aplse*] apells first in a hand basketts [*putti*] emtiinge them as they are filled into other bigger basketts wherof sum are made of the barkes of trees, sume of heampe which naturally groweth ther, and some of the straw wheron ye wheat groweth, Now after ye gatheringe, they laye it uppon matts a good thicknes in the soun to drye & [**49**] euery night they make a great pile of it, coueringe it ouer *with* matts to defend it from the dewe, [*wh*ich] and when it is suffitien[t]ly weathered they pile it up in ther howses, dayly as occation serueth wringinge the eares in peises betwene ther hands, and so rubbinge out ther corne do put it to a great Baskett *wh*ich taketh upp the best parte of sum of ther howses, and all this is cheefly the weomens worke for the men doe only hunt to gett skinns in winter and doe tewe or dress them in summer.

But though now out of order yet let me not altogither forgett the settinge of ye Kings corne for *wh*ich a day is apoynted wherin great part of ye cuntry people meete who *with* such diligence worketh as for the most part all ye Kinges corne is sett on a daye After *wh*ich setting the Kinge takes the croune *wh*ich ye Kinge of England sent him beinge [**50**] brought him by tow men, and setts it on his heade *wh*ich dunn the people goeth about the corne in maner backwardes for they going before, and the king followinge ther faces are always toward the Kinge exspectinge when he should flinge sum beades amonge them *wh*ich his custum is at that time to doe makinge thos *wh*ich had wrought to scramble for them But to sume he fauors he bids thos *th*at carry his Beades to call such and such unto him unto whome he giueth beads into ther hande and this is the greatest curtesey he doth his people, when his corne is ripe the cuntry people cums to him againe and gathers drys and rubbes out all his corne for him, *wh*ich is layd in howses apoynted for that purpose. [**51**]

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The settinge at meat

THey sett on matts round about ye howse ye men [1609-10] by them selues and ye weomen by ther selues ye weomen bringe to euery one a dish of meat for the better sort neuer eates togither in one dish, when he hath eaten what he will, or that *whi*ch was giuen him, for he looks for no [*meat*] second corse he setts doune his dish by him and mum[b]leth ceartayne words to himself in maner of [*a saying grace*] giuinge thankes, if any leaft ye weomen gather it up & ether keeps it till ye next meall, or gives it to ye porer sort, if any be ther. [**52**]

The differences amonge them

THe King is not know by any differenc[e] from other of y^e^ [*better*] chefe sort in ye cuntry but only when he cums to any of ther howses they present him *with* copper Beads or Vitall, and shew much reuerence to him

The preest[s] are shauen on ye right side of ther head close to the scull only a litle locke leaft at ye eare and sum of thes haue beards But ye common people haue no beards at all for they pull away ther hares as fast as it growes. And they also cutt ye heares on ye right side of ther heade that it might not hinder them by flappinge about ther bow [**53**] stringe, when they draw it to shoott, But on ye other side they lett it grow & haue a long locke hanginge doune ther shoulder. [**54**]

The Armor and wepon with discipline in war

AS for Armoure or dissipline in ware the[y] haue not any. The weopons they vse for offence are Bowes and Arrowes *with* a weopon like a hammer and ther Tomahaucks for defence *whi*ch are shields made of the barke of a tree and hanged on ther leaft shoulder to couer that side as they stand forth to shoote

They neuer fight in open fields but always ether

[1609-10] amonge reede or behind trees takinge ther oportunitie to shoot at ther enimies and [**55**] till they can nocke another arrow they make the trees ther defence

In ye time that I was ther I sawe a Battell fought be- [*pp.* 71, 111, 117, 415, 421.] twene the Patomeck and the Masomeck, ther place wher they fought was a marish ground full of Reede. Beinge in the cuntry of the Patomecke the peopel of Masomeck weare brought thether in Canoes *which* is a kind of Boate they haue made in the forme of an Hoggs trowgh But sumwhat more hollowed in, On Both sids they scatter them selues sum litle distant one from the other, then take they ther bowes and arrows and hauinge made ridie to shoot they softly steale toward ther enimies, Sumtime squattinge doune and priinge if they can spie any to shoot at whom if at any time he so Hurteth that he can not flee they make hast to him to knock him on the heade, And they that kill most of ther enimies are heald [**56**] the cheafest men amonge them; Drums and Trumpetts they haue none, but when they will gather themselues togither they haue a kind of Howlinge or Howbabub so differinge in sounde one from the other as both part may uery aesely be distinguished. Ther was no greater slawter of nether side But ye massomecks hauing shott away most of ther arrows and wantinge Vitall [*was*] weare glad to retier; [**57**]

The Pastimes

WHen they meet at feasts or otherwise they vse sprorts much like to ours heare in England as ther daunsinge, *which* is like our darbysher Hornepipe a man first and *then* a woman, and so through them all, hanging all in a round, ther is one *which* stand in the midest *with* a pipe and a rattell *with* *which* when he beginns to make a noyes all the rest Gigetts about wriinge ther neckes and stampinge on ye ground

They vse beside football play, *which* wemen and young boyes doe much play at. The men neuer They make ther Gooles as ours [**58**] only they neuer fight nor pull one another doune.

The men play *with* a litel balle lettinge it fall out of ther hand and striketh it *with* the tope of his foot, and he that can strike the ball furthest winns that they play for.

V.

TO deny the truth of the POCAHONTAS incident is to create more difficulties than are involved in its acceptance.

Ten men (*p.* 14) left James town, on the 10th of December 1607, *p.* lxxxv, in the barge, for the discovery of the head waters of the Chickahominy; six only of these returned with the barge, three of the others were slain to the certain knowledge of all the Colony, Why then was JOHN SMITH not slain too?

He had left seven in the barge at Apocant,

With expresse charge not any [one] to go ashore til my returne. *p.* 14.

But hee was not long absent, but his men went a shore, whose want of government gaue both occasion and opportunity to the Salvages to surprise one *George Cassen*, whom they slew and much failed not to haue cut of[f] the boat and all the rest. *p.* 395.

The Salvages hauing drawne from *George Cassen* whether Captaine *Smith* was gone, prosecuting that opportunity they followed him with. 300. bowmen, conducted by the King of *Pamavnkee*, who in diuisions searching the turnings of the riuer, found *Robinson* and *Emry* by the fire side: those they shot full of arrowes and slew. *pp.* 395–6.

It will be seen at *pp.* lii, liii, lxxi, lxxii, how many of the colonists had already been slain by the Indians; and the frightful death to which they afterwards subjected GEORGE CASSEN, described at *pp.* 82, 377, is but an example of their innate ferocity.

Supposing then that the account of the POCAHONTAS incident to be altogether untrue, from first to last; how is the return of SMITH with POWHATAN's *favour* to be accounted for, when each of the other three men that came into the power of the Indians at the same time, perished? Up to the very moment he arrived at the Fort, our Author momentarily expected death, *p.* 401. Evidently *some* interposition had occurred in his favour, and his own relation of that interposition was strikingly confirmed by the appearance and presents of the hitherto unknown young Indian girl.

Iames towne with her wild traine she as freely frequented, as her fathers habitation; and during the time of two or three yeeres [1608–9], she next vnder God, was still the instrument to preserue this Colonie from death, famine and vtter confusion; which if in those times, [it] had once beene dissolued, *Virginia* might haue line [*lain*] as it was at our first arriuall to this day. *pp.* 531–2; *see also pp.* 401, 403.

Every man in the Colony therefore must have believed SMITH's account of her rescue, when he thus saw POCAHONTAS and her supplies of food. The subsequent uniform and unwearied friendship shewn by the Indian girl to the colony at large, and to SMITH in particular, is the strongest possible confirmation of his narrative; and is otherwise quite inexplicable. Indeed his story was never questioned in his lifetime.

The incident itself is not an extraordinary one in the sequence of recorded hairbreadth escapes from Indian tribes. POWHATAN, a polygamist, nearly sixty years of age in 1608, *pp.* 80, 376; with no special love for any one woman, and none of whose sons can be heir to his throne, having also by no wife more than one child, *p.* cviii, has constantly fixed his heart on a pet child (like an old man's grandchild with us); so that when POCAHONTAS was taken in April 1613, he chose another of twelve years old, which he sold for "two bushels of Rawrenoke," *p.* 518, respecting whom he said in 1614, "he delighted in none so much as shee, whom if he could not often behold, he could not possibly live, which living with us he could not do," *p.* 519. There was nothing miraculous in POWHATAN's thus yielding to the solicitations of such a pet child.

On the whole, therefore, we see no occasion to doubt the two accounts given by our Author of this peril.

1616.

At the minute of my execution, she hazarded the beating out of her owne braines to saue mine; and not onely that, but so preuailed with her father, that I was safely conducted to *Iames* towne: where I found about eight and thirtie miserable poore and sicke creatures, to keepe possession of all those large territories of *Virginia*; such was the weaknesse of this poore Commonwealth, as had the Saluages not fed vs, we directly had starued. And this reliefe, most gracious Queene, was commonly brought vs by this Lady *Pocahontas*. *p.* 531.

1624.

Having feasted him after their best barbarous manner they could, a long consultation was held, but the conclusion was, two great stones were brought before *Powhatan*: then as many as could layd hands on him, dragged him to them, and thereon laid his head, and being ready with their clubs, to beate out his braines, *Pocahontas* the Kings dearest daughter, when no intreaty could prevaile, got his head in her armes, and laid her owne vpon his to saue him from death: whereat the Emperour was contented he should liue to make him hatchets, and her bells, beads, and copper; for they thought him aswell of all occupations as themselues. For the King himselfe will make his owne robes, shooes, bowes, arrowes, pots; plant, hunt, or doe any thing so well as the rest. *p.* 400.

In fact, the only possible way of resisting the story is to regard Captain SMITH as a confirmed liar; which is quite contrary to everything we know of him.

Savages have often shewn such sudden revulsion of feeling; and POWHATAN before that year 1608 was out, returned to his frenzied attempts to kill SMITH; who seemed to him and his tribe, to bear a charmed life among them.

THE SULLY PORTRAIT OF POCAHONTAS.

At the time of the rescue, SMITH was about 28 years of age, and POCAHONTAS about 13. It is quite clear that there was no love affair between them. He astonished her with his wonderful knowledge, and won her friendship with kindness, and gifts of things that to her seemed very precious. He looked upon her goodwill as a political factor for the salvation of the Colony; and with the high notions of kingship prevailing in his day, he considered himself beneath her in social position; for when, at Brentford in Middlesex, in 1616, she *would* call him *father* (not *sweetheart*, or even *friend*), he writes—

> Which though I would haue excused, I durst not allow of that title, because she was a Kings daughter. *p.* 533.

W. PHETTIPLACE who certainly, and R. POTS who probably, arrived at James town on the evening of the day (8 January 1608) on which SMITH arrived from Werowocomoco, *pp.* lxxxvi, 101, 404; and who therefore were personally acquainted with the entire connection of POCAHONTAS with the Colony, thus rebut this out of the many *foul slanders* that followed their beloved Captain home.

> Some propheticall spirit calculated [that] hee had the Salvages in such subiection, hee would haue made himselfe a king, by marrying *Pocahontas*, *Powhatans* daughter. (It is true she was the very Nomparell of his kingdome, and at most not past 13 or 14 yeares of age. Very oft shee came to our fort, with what shee could get for Captaine *Smith*; that ever loued and vsed all the Countrie well, but her especially he ever much respected; and she so well requited it, that when her father intended to haue surprized him, shee by stealth in the darke night came through the wild woods and told him of it [*p.* 455]. But her marriage could no way haue intitled him by any right to the kingdome, nor was it ever suspected hee had ever such a thought; or more regarded her, or any of them, than in honest reason and discreation he might. If he would, he might haue married her, or haue done what him listed; for there was none that could haue hindred his determination.) *pp.* 168–9.

As to the argument that this Deliverance is not true, because it is not mentioned in the *True Relation* of 1608; it need only be said, that that *Relation* was not intended for publication by SMITH. It is clear from the foregoing pieces at *pp.* xxxviii-xci that *very many* written Relations must have gone home with NEWPORT in June 1607, and again in his second return in April 1608; as this particular one by SMITH, did in Captain NELSON's *Phœnix*, in June 1608. Of them all, SMITH's was the only one that came to the press; and that not by his own act. I. H., who edited it, confesses that "somewhat more was by him written, which being as I thought fit to be private, I would not adventure to make it public," *p.* 4. But these probably refer to the details of his 13 weeks' false imprisonment, and to his narrow escape from being hanged at Nevis, *p.* 910: and not to his personal adventures with the savages. We are quite content to suppose he never mentioned the POCAHONTAS incident at all in the manuscript from which this abridged *Relation* was printed; as also that he may not have mentioned OPECHANCANOUGH's previous deliverance of him, when he was tied to the tree to be shot, *p.* 396.

Mr. WILLIAM WIRT HENRY, of Richmond, Va., has, in his *Address to the Virginia Historical Society*, on 24 Feb. 1882, furnished answers to many points of attack on our Author's veracity: but we will not avail ourselves of them. We only say, on general grounds, *non sequitur* (the circumstances considered) to any argument that would assert that *all* that occurred *must*, of necessity, have been recorded in SMITH's manuscript relation; or else it did not occur. In confirmation of this, we may point to the variations (but not contradictions) in the two Relations extending over *not more than the week*, 21–27 May 1607, of the same boat expedition up the James river: the one by Captain ARCHER at *pp.* xl–lii; the other by the Hon. G. PERCY, at *pp.* lxviii–lxix. And it is only popular ignorance of his career that has fastened upon SMITH's danger at Werowocomoco as the chief peril of his life; and which has therefore exaggerated its importance far beyond his own opinion of it. The marvel is that he wrote so much and so well, while the *Phœnix* was loading for home, in May, 1608, under the pressure of so many other things on hand, *pp.* 34–39: and the personal self-forgetfulness with which it is written is only characteristic of the man.

To conclude, then, it would seem that the advent of SMITH was a momentous event in POCAHONTAS's life, but a very small one in his own; so small indeed that he did not see occasion to dwell upon it. They saw one another occasionally over a period of at most 21 months; between January 1608, to the date of his return home 4 October 1609: after which, she never visited James town till ARGAL brought her thither, as a State prisoner, in April 1613.

POCAHONTAS will ever be a most interesting character. She was, under GOD, the means of keeping the Colony alive. She admired, perhaps revered, SMITH; but as PHETTIPLACE and POTS wrote in 1612, "nor was it ever suspected he . . . more regarded her, or any of them, than in honest reason and discreation he might," *p.* 169.

Mr. CHARLES DEANE (who has done so much and so well towards the reproduction of our Author's Works) is responsible for the attack on SMITH's veracity as regards the POCAHONTAS incident, by the notes to his reprint of *The True Relation*, in 1866. Mr. H. B. ADAMS, in his review of the same, in the *North American Review*, No. 204, January 1867, is a study of SMITH's life and work, upside down.

Our American friends seem sometimes to fall into the error of considering any newly-found manuscript as of greater authority than the old printed books: thus WINGFIELD is opposed to SMITH; and yet that there is no contradiction in his recrimination, to our Author's text, the reader may see for himself, as we have reprinted the *Discourse of Virginia* at *pp.* lxxiv-xci. In like manner, STRACHEY, who arrived in the Colony in June 1610, is opposed to SMITH, who left on the 4 October 1609, as to the conduct of POCAHONTAS anterior to October 1609. So, Mr. DEANE's reprinting of the *True Relation* was like the bringing to light of a lost manuscript. He did quite right in pointing out its variation from the *General History*: and any doubt he may have raised will be set at rest by the present edition. Precision and scientific accuracy is not to be found in *any* of the nine books forming the present Text; but of the unspotted integrity of the writer, and of the care and moderation with which he wrote, there is therein, we think, abundant testimony. As he says himself, at *p.* 622,

> I thanke God I neuer vndertooke any thing yet [wherein] any could tax me of carelesnesse or dishonesty, and what is hee to whom I am indebted or troublesome?

VI.

FOR the story of those first thirty months of the James river Settlement, we must refer the reader to the Text itself. It is brim full of fascinating interest: but this Volume consists rather of materials for a Biography of a Life than the History of a Colony, so we pass on.

Two points only we shall add.

Major JED. HOTCHKISS, Consulting Mining Engineer, Staunton, Va., U.S.A., who is the greatest living authority on the geography of that State, thus writes, under date of October 5, 1883: "I am sorry to say that about the only information we have concerning the location of Indian tribes at the time of the settlement of Virginia is to be found on SMITH's Map—a marvel of results in representation of outline compared with the time occupied in procuring information. The same region is shewn on the small map I send you, from the actual surveys of a century [1774–1874], yet SMITH had all the important features of our wonderfully developed coast well shewn."

There is an interesting connection between our Author and HENRY HUDSON the navigator, of whom he speaks so highly in 1614, at *pp.* 191, 704.

After he discovered Chesapeake Bay, SMITH evidently sent to HUDSON, with the *third* return of Captain NEWPORT, about November 1608, a duplicate of the "Mappe of the Bay and Rivers" (*p.* 444), which he then sent to the Council in London, under cover of the letter printed at *p.* 442. NEWPORT reached London in January 1609, *p.* xciii; soon after which HUDSON went to Holland, from whence he set sail on his Third voyage on 25 March 1609 (G. M. ASHER, *HENRY HUDSON the Navigator*, *p.* ccii, Hakluyt Soc. 1860).

EMANUEL VAN METEREN, in his *Historie der Neder-Lanscher*, states, "This idea had been suggested to HUDSON by some letters and maps which his friend Captain SMITH had sent him from Virginia; and by which he informed him that there was a sea leading to the Western Ocean by the north of the southern English colony" (*fol.* 629, *Ed.* 1614; and at *fol.* 674 of the French edition 1618).

VII.

OUr Author seems to have returned home from Virginia, by December 1609; thereby escaping the peril of *The Starving Time*, as that dreadful winter in the Colony was called. So far, therefore, as he was concerned, his laceration by gunpowder was a merciful Providence to him; as he would have probably perished that winter in the Colony; if not from mutinies, from starvation.

Then for two years he is quiet. He is waiting and watching. He makes no public vindication of his Governorship and the true service he "and his party" had rendered to the Colony, until the English Settlement there is on an assured footing.

Then the *Map of Virginia* appears in 1612, containing first his own Map and full Description of the country: and next the Vindication of himself and his party, condensed by the Rev. Dr. SIMMONDS from the interrogatories of survivors and the writings of the dead, and written with a strong self-restraint, considering that most, if not all, the other side were known, by this time, to have perished in the colony. Dr. SIMMONDS wrote at the end of this summary:

Captaine *Smith* I returne you the fruit of my labours, as *Master Croshaw* requested me, which I bestowed in reading the discourses, and hearing the relations of such which haue walked and

observed the land of *Virginia* with you. The pains I took was great: yet did the nature of the argument, and hopes I conceaued of the expedition, giue me exceeding content. I cannot finde there is any thing, but what they all affirme, or cannot contradict. *p.* 174.

It is very singular indeed that this book, the *Map of Virginia* should have come from the Oxford press; which did not usually produce books of travel.

As Virginian matters progressed, the Council in London broke up into factions. One of the most important private collections of papers relating to Virginia, Bermuda, &c., is in the possession of the Duke of MANCHESTER. Mr. L. OWEN PIKE's catalogue of them will be found in the *Appendix* (Part II.) to the *Eighth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts*, London, 1881.

Mr. PIKE states—"The Virginia Company about the year 1619 was becoming divided into two hostile factions, the chief leaders in which were to be, on the one side, the Earl of WARWICK, Sir NATHANIEL RICH, and Alderman JOHNSON; and on the other side, the Earl of SOUTHAMPTON, Lord CAVENDISH, and Sir EDWARD SACKVILLE. One party supported Sir THOMAS SMITH, who had been Governor or Treasurer of the Company for the previous twelve years [1606–1618], the other Sir EDWIN SANDYS, who was elected his successor. The papers formerly in the State Paper Office represent, in the main, the case of Sir E. SANDYS; the papers in the Duke of MANCHESTER's collection represent, but far more in detail, the case of Sir J. SMITH." *p.* 4.

Captain SMITH briefly refers to these factions at *p.* 784. He kept out of them altogether, and speaks of the leaders of both sides with an equal respect.

With the publication of this Vindication, SMITH practically turned away from Virginian matters; which had now passed into the hands of Peers of the Realm, like Lord DELAWARE, and other Noblemen and Gentlemen, far above the rank of a mere Army Captain. He and his work were slenderly regarded. While therefore he continued deeply interested in every part of the English colonizing movement; he now turned his personal efforts towards Norumbega, "when nothing was knowne, but that there was a vast Land." *pp.* 242–3, 266, 771.

On 2 May 1621, our Author petitioned, apparently without success, the Virginia Company for a reward, "as he hath not onely aduentured money for the good of the Plantacion, and twise built *Iames Towne*, and fower other particular Plantacions, as he alledgeth; but for that he discouered the country, and releaued the Colony willingly three yeares with that which he gott from the Sauages with great perill and hazard of his life." NEILL, *History* &c. *p.* 215, *Ed.* 1869.

C. NEW ENGLAND, 1613–1619 A.D.

VIII.

And of all the four parts of the World that I have yet seen, not inhabited: could I have but means to transport a Colony, I would rather live here [*between Pennobscot and Cape Cod in New England*], than anywhere. J. SMITH, 1616, *p.* 193.

CAptain SMITH, in 1614, spent 80 days on the Coast of New England, from Pennobscot to Cape Cod, viz., from 30 April to 18 July both inclusive, *p.* 256; so that he was, in all, about 32 months on the American Continent, from first to last.

He made an astonishingly good use of his time. For though he

failed to found a colony himself; he shewed the way to others, as the Pilgrim Fathers of 1620, *pp.* 749, 892, 941, 943, and the Massachusetts Planters of 1629–30, *pp.* 926, 947, 950.

He however established the fishing at Monahigan, *pp.* 206, 720, or within a square of two or three leagues of it, *pp.* 244, 268, 773: which brought into the realm, with the furs obtained by traffic with the Indians, £100,000 [=£300,000 now] within ten years, *p.* 784.

Sea-fishing, with him, was but the stepping stone to Colonization. How eloquently he writes of it! how reasonable and practical are his suggestions!

And lastly in 1630, he wrote—

Thus you may plainly see, although many envying [that] I should bring so much from thence, where many others had beene; and some, the same yeare, returned with nothing, reported the Fish and Bevers I brought home, I had taken from the French men of *Canada*, to discourage any from beleeving me, and excuse their owne misprisons: some onely to have concealed this good Country (as is said) to their private use; others taxed me as much of indiscretion, to make my discoveries and designes so publike for nothing, which might have beene so well managed by some concealers, to have beene all rich ere any had knowne of it.

Those, and many such like wise rewards, have beene my recompences; for which I am contented, so the Country prosper, and Gods Name bee there praised by my Countrymen, I have my desire. *p.* 944.

In 1618, our Author wrote in a little manuscript book by the hand of a scrivener, the germ of *New England Trials* of 1620, with the following,

Letter to Lord Bacon.

[*State Papers, Colonial.* (1574–1621) Vol. I., No. 42.]

To the Right Honorable Sir *ffrances Bacon*, Knight, Baron of *Verolam* and Lord High Chauncellor of *England*.

Right Honorable,

Having noe better meanes to acquaint your Lordship with my meaning than this paper, the zeale love and dutie to God, my Countrie and your honor, I humbly craue may be my apologie.

This 19 yeares [1599–1618] I haue encountred noe fewe dangers to learne what here I write in these fewe leaves, and though the lines they containe are more rudely phrased then is meete for the viewe of so great a iudgement, their fruites I am certayne may bring both wealth and honor for a Crowne and a Kingdom to his Maiesties

posterity./ The profitts already returned with so small charge and facilitie according to proportion emboldens me to say it./

With a stock of 5000*li* I durst venture to effect it, though more than 100000*li* hath bene spent in *Virginia* and the *Barmudas* to small purpose, about the procuring whereof many good men knowes I haue spent noe small tyme labor nor mony: but all in vaine. Notwithstanding within these fower years [1614–18] I have occasioned twice 5000*li* to be imployed that way. But great desyres to ingross it, hath bred so many particular humors, as they have their willes, I the losse, and the generall good the wrong./

Should I present it to the *Biskayners*, *French*, or *Hollanders*, they have made me large offers. But nature doth binde me thus to begg at home, whome strangers have pleased to make a Commander abroad. The busines being of such consequence, I hold it but my duty to acquaint it to your Honor, knowing you are not only a cheife Patron of your Countrie and state, but also the greatest favourer of all good designes and their Authors.

Noe more, but humbly beseeching your goodnes to pardon my rudenes, and ponder my plaine meaning in the ballance of goodwill, I leave the substance to the discretion of your most admired judgement, ever resting Your honors ever most truely devoted,

[This signature is autographic.] Jo Smith.

Then follows the substance, up to year 1618, of *New Englands Trials* 1620, with the following paragraphs omitted in that tract.

The worst is of these 16. shippes. 2 or three of them have bene taken by Pyrates, which hath putt such feare in poore fishermen, whose powers are but weake. And the desyre of gaine in Marchants so violent: every one so regarding his private, that it is worse then slaverye to follow any publique good, and impossible to bring them into a bodye, rule, or order, vnles it be by some extraordinary power. But if his Maiestie would please to be perswaded to spare vs but a Pinnace, to lodge my men in and defend us and the Coast from such invasions, the space of eight or tenn monethes only till we were seated [*i.e.*, *the colony settled in New England*], I would not doubt but ere long to drawe the most part of *Newfound Land* men to assist us, if I could be so provided but in due season: for now ere the Savages grow subtle and the Coast be too much frequented with strangers, more may be done with 20*li* than hereafter with a 100*li*. . . .

How I haue lived, spent my tyme and bene employed, I am

not ashamed who will examine. Therefore I humbly beseech your Honour, seriously to consider of it; and lett not the povertie of the Author cause the action to be lesse respected, who desyres noe better fortune than he could find there./

In the interim I humbly desyre your Honour would be pleased to grace me with the title of your Lordships servant. Not that I desyre to shut vpp the rest of my dayes in the chamber of ease and idlenes, but that thereby I may be the better countenanced for the prosecution of this my most desyred voyage: for had I the Patronage of so mature a iudgment as your Honors, it would not only induce those to beleive what I know to be true in this matter, who will now hardly vouchsafe the perusall of my Relations, but also be a meanes to further it to the vttermost of their powers with their purses.

And I shal be ever ready to spend both life and goods for the honor of my Country, and your Lordships service. With which resolucion I doe in all humility rest, At your Honors service

It is to be regretted that this application was not successful.

It is quite clear, that our Author offered to lead out the Pilgrim Fathers to America, and that they declined his services "to save charges," *p.* 941, "saying my books and maps were much better cheape to teach them, than my selfe," *p.* 892. We cannot think that this was the whole reason. In 1620, politics and religion in England usually went together, and there were three great Parties in the State, known as the Protestant, the Puritan, and the Papist. SMITH was a Protestant, and his argument at *p.* 959 for a strong ecclesiastical government, based on his experiences in Eastern Europe, is certainly a very reasonable one: but the Pilgrim Fathers were the "head and front" of the Puritan revolt against the Bishops. No doubt, our Author would have been supremely faithful to them; but he could not long have stood their independence of all religious authority.

Now since them called Brownists [*the Pilgrim Fathers*] went (some few before them also having my bookes and maps, presumed they knew as much as they desired). *p.* 946.

So that our Author exercised a great, though an indirect, influence on the colonizing enterprise of England from 1620–1630. Indeed it would seem that the influence of his pen was greater than the result of his personal actions. He grieved over his mishaps and ill-fortune in 1615 and 1617, but posterity may be glad that he never did get to New England again. That work was carried on by other hands: and we rejoice thereby to possess the *New Englands Trials*, 1620 and 1622; the *General History*, 1624; the *Accidence*, 1626; the *Travels*, 1629; and the *Advertisements*, 1630: all of which would never have come to the press, had not Man and Providence, the poltroons in 1615 and the three months' westerly wind in 1617, frustrated all his attempts to go and settle in Capawuck, *pp.* 205, 218, 732.

D. Advocate and Historian of English Colonization in America, and of Sea Fisheries there as a means thereto. 1619–1631 A.D.

IX.

My greatest error in this, is but a desire to do good: which disease hath ever haunted me since my childhood; and all the miseries and ingratitudes I have endured, cannot yet divert me from that resolution. J. Smith, 1626, *p.* 788.

History is the memory of Time, the life of the Dead, and the happiness of the Living. J. Smith, 1630, *p.* 948.

You may easily know them by their absoluteness in opinions; holding Experience but the mother of fools, which indeed is the very ground of Reason; and he that contemns her in those actions, may find occasion enough to use all the wit and wisdom he hath, to correct his own folly. J. Smith, 1630, *p.* 956.

For my self, let Emulation and Envy cease! I ever intended my actions should be upright: now [*in the "General History"*] my care hath been that my Relations should give every man they concern, his due. J. Smith, 1624, *p.* 279.

How completely our Author identified himself with this Colonizing movement, from the intended voyage to the river Weapoco, in 1605, *p.* 896, to the last day of his life, is illustrated by the following passages.

In 1622 he thus wrote—

Thus you may see plainely the yearely successe from *New England* (by *Virginia*) which has bin so costly to this kingdome and so deare to me, which either to see perish or but bleed, pardon me though it passionate me beyond the bounds of modestie, to haue bin sufficiently able to foresee it, and had neither power nor meanes how to preuent it. By that acquaintance I haue with them, I may call them my children; for they haue bin my wife, my hawks, my hounds, my cards, my dice, and in totall my best content, as indifferent to my heart as my left hand to my right: and notwithstanding all those miracles of disasters [that] haue crossed both them and me, yet were there not one English man remaining (as God be thanked there is some thousands) I would yet begin againe with as small means as I did at the first. Not for that I haue any secret encouragement from any I protest, more then lamentable experiences: for all their discoueries I can yet heare of, are but pigs of my owne sowe; . . . . except the relations of Master *Dirmer*. *p.* 265.

Again, in 1629, he wrote—

Those Countries Captaine *Smith* oft times used to call his children that never had mother; and well he might, for few fathers ever payed dearer for so little content; and for those that

would truly understand, how many strange accidents hath befallen them and him; how oft up, how oft downe, sometimes neere desperate, and ere long flourishing, cannot but conceive Gods infinite mercies and favours towards them. *p.* 893.

And thus it was, that to carry on the Colonizing Effort he undertook his *General History*.

The following Minute of the London Virginia Company at *p.* 210 of Mr. E. D. Neill's *History*, Ed. 1869 (see *p.* xxxiii) is the earliest information we have of our Author's largest Work.

April 12, 1621. Mr. *Smith* moued, that for so much as ye lottaries were now suspended, which hitherto had continued the reall and substantiall food, by which *Virginia* hath been nourished, that insteade thereof shee might be now preserued by divulginge faire and good report as shee and her worthy vndertakers did well deserve: declaring that it could not but much advance the Plantacion in the popular opinion of the Common Subjects to haue a faire and perspicuous history, compiled of that Country, from her first discouery to this day: and to haue the memory and fame of many of their worthies, though they be dead, to liue and be transmitted to all posteritie; as namely: Sir *Thomas Dale*, Sir *George Somers*, Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, the Lord *De-la-warr*, Sir *Thomas Gates*, and diuers others whereunto were it not for suspition of flattery, he would wish also the name of many her other worthies yet liuinge, and some of them now present in Court, might haue also their honorable and good deseruinge commended to eternall thankfullness; for that our inabilities had as yet no trewer coyne, wherewith to recompense their paines and merritt. Affirming also, that the best now planted parts of *America* under the Spanish government, nor their Annals or histories of those times, in their like age of ours, nowe 12 years [1609–1621] old *Virginia* afforded better matter of relacion than *Virginia* hath donn: and doth. With what effect such a generall history, (deduced to the life to this yeare), would worke throughout the Kingdome), with the generall and common subject, may be gathered by the little pamphletts or declaracions lately printed [*i.e., by the London Virginia Company*]. And besides fewe succeedinge yeares would soon consume the lives of many whose livinge memories yet retayned much, and devour those letters and intelligences which yet remaine in loose and neglected papers. For which boldness, in mouinge hereof, he prayed his Lordships pardon, ledd herunto upon the request of some fellows of the Generallity.

A copy of the four-page Prospectus intended for the Nobility and Gentry of the *General History* is No. 209 of the Collection of Broadsides of the Society of Antiquaries of London. It was evidently issued in 1623, which according to the old way of reckoning would extend to the 24 March 1624. It begins thus:

¶ The generall History of *Virginia*, the *Somer* Iles, and New *England*, with the names of the Aduenturers, and their aduentures. Also a Catalogue of their names who were the first Treasurers heere, and planters and Gouernours there; and how they haue yeerely succeeded, from their first beginning 1584. to this present 1623. with the proceedings of these seuerall Colonies, and the accidents that befell them in all their iourneys and discoueries, with the Mappes and descriptions of those countries, commodities, people, gouernment, customes, and Religion yet knowne, for the generall good of all them who belong to those Plantations and all their posterities.

Discouered, obserued, or collected by Captaine IO. SMITH *sometime Gouernour of Virginia, and Admirall of New England.*

Then follow in two columns of small type, the intended Contents of the book, pretty nearly as we have in the Text at *pp.* 289–300.

At the top of the fourth page, the Prospectus thus concludes:

THese obseruations are all I haue for the expences of a thousand pound, and the losse of eighteene yeeres of time, besides all the trauels, dangers, miseries and incumbrances for my countries good, I haue endured gratis: *and had I not discouered and liued in the most of these parts, I could not possibly haue collected the substantiall trueth from such an infinite nomber of variable Relations, that would make a volume of at least a thousand sheetes: and this is composed in lesse then eighty sheets, besides the three Maps, which will stand me neere in an hundred pounds, which summe I cannot disbursse: nor shall the Stationers haue the copy* [manuscript] *for nothing. Therfore I humbly entreat your Honour, either to aduenture, or giue me what you please towards the impression, and I will be both accountable and thankful; not doubting but that the Story will giue you satisfaction, and stirre vp a double new life in the Aduenturers, when they shall see plainely the causes of all those defailements, and how they may be amended. And so I humbly rest.*

[No printed name. It was evidently intended to be personally signed by SMITH himself.]

X.

VEry touching is the Poem at *p.* 922 on his own career, likening himself to a *Sea Mark*. Still, a devout Christian all his life, as he gets older his language becomes one of thankfulness to Almighty GOD; and his style is often very Biblical.

With two Summaries of his career by himself, we conclude. In 1629, he wrote,

Now to conclude the travels and adventures of Captaine *Smith*; how first he planted *Virginia*, and was set ashore with about an hundred men in the wilde woods; how he was taken prisoner by the Savages, by the King of *Pamaunke* tied to a tree to be shot to death, led up and downe their Country to be shewed for a wonder; fatted as he thought, for a sacrifice for their Idoll; before whom they conjured him three dayes, with strange dances and invocations; then brought him before their Emperor *Powhatan*, that commanded him to be slaine; how his daughter *Pocahontas* saved his life, returned him to *James* towne, releeved him and his famished company, which was but eight and thirty to possesse those large dominions; how he discovered all the severall nations upon the rivers falling into the Bay of *Chisapeacke*; stung neere to death with a most poysoned taile of a fish called Stingray: how [he drave] *Powhatan* out of his Country, tooke the Kings of *Pamaunke* and *Paspahegh* prisoners, forced thirty nine of those Kings to pay him contribution, [and] subjected all the Savages: how *Smith* was blowne up with gunpowder, and returned for *England* to be cured:

Also how hee brought our new *England* to the subjection of the Kingdome of great *Britaine*; his fights with the Pirats, left alone amongst a many *French* men of Warre, and his ship ran from him; his Sea-fights for the French against the *Spaniards*, their bad usage of him, how in *France* in a little boat he escaped them; was adrift all such a stormy night at Sea by himselfe, when thirteene *French* ships were split, or driven on shore by the Ile of *Ree*, the generall and most of his men drowned, when God to whom be all honour and praise, brought him safe on shore to all their admirations that escaped: you may read at large in his generall history of *Virginia*, the *Summer Iles*, and *New England*. *pp.* 911–912.

And again in 1630, his heart overflows in this, our final quotation:

Now if you but truly consider how many strange accidents have befallen those plantations and my selfe; how oft up, how oft downe, sometimes neere despaire, and ere long flourishing; how many scandals and Spanolized English have sought to disgrace

them, bring them to ruine, or at least hinder them all they could; how many have shaven and couzened both them and me, and their most honourable supporters and well-willers: [you] cannot but conceive God's infinite mercy both to them and me.

Having beene a slave to the Turks, prisoner amongst the most barbarous Salvages, after my deliverance commonly discovering and ranging those large rivers and unknowne Nations with such a handfull of ignorant companions that the wiser sort often gave mee [up] for lost, alwayes in mutinies [*i.e., of others*] wants and miseries, blowne up with gunpowder; A long time [a] prisoner among the French Pyrats, from whom escaping in a little boat by my selfe, and adrift all such a stormy winter night, when their ships were split, more than a hundred thousand pound [=£400,000 *now*] lost [which] they had taken at sea, and most of them drowned upon the Ile of *Ree*, not farre from whence I was driven on shore in my little boat &c. And many a score of the worst of winter moneths [have] lived in the fields: yet to have lived near 37. yeares [1593–1630] in the midst of wars, pestilence and famine, by which many an hundred thousand have died about mee, and scarce five living of them [that] went first with me to *Virginia*: and [yet to] see the fruits of my labours thus well begin to prosper: though I have but my labour for my paines, have I not much reason both privately and publikely to acknowledge it and give God thankes, whose omnipotent power onely delivered me, to doe the utmost of my best to make his name knowne in those remote parts of the world, and his loving mercy to such a miserable sinner. *pp.* 944–945.

At length, while his thoughts are engaged on yet another Work, his *History of the Sea*, he dies, somewhat suddenly, at the comparatively early age of 51 on the 21 June 1631, and was buried at St. Sepulchre's Church, London. His Will and Epitaph will be found at *pp.* 969–72.

XI.

THE reader of the foregoing will now be able rightly to understand what manner of man Captain JOHN SMITH was; will have read most of what was written against him, in his own day; will be able to distinguish the malice from the truth; and will thus come to share our own high regard for his character, and admiration of his work.

Whenever generous spirits served under him, they learned to love and admire the man: as witness herein, Ensign CARLTON and Sergeant ROBINSON in Transylvania in 1603, *pp* 230–231; the brothers PHETTIPLACE, and RICHARD WIFFING, *p.* 185; ISAAC CODRINGTON, *p.* 181; RALEIGH CRASHAW, *p.* 184; who, with others of the thirty or forty gentlemen under him, saved Virginia.

So, at length, posterity will learn to do the like; and see in him a noble example of what a Christian Gentleman and Officer may be, may do, and may endure.

Postscript.

The Epic period of the James river Settlement.

26 April 1607—10 July 1609.

Now this our young Commonwealth in Virginia, as you have read, once consisted but of 38 persons; and in two years increased but to 200. . . . If we truly consider our proceedings with the Spaniards and the rest, we have no reason to despair: for, with so small charge, they never had either greater discoveries, with such certain trials of more several commodities, than, in this short time, hath been returned from Virginia, and by much less means. R. Pots, W. Tankard, the Hon. G. Percy, *p.* 488.

However some bad conditions will extol the actions of any nation but their own; yet if we may give credit to the Spaniards', Portugals' and French's writings, they endured as many miseries; and yet not in twenty years effected so much, nay, scarce in forty. J. Smith, *p.* 769.

WHat were the precise numbers in the Colony before the arrival of Argal's ship about 10 July, and of the Third Supply or reinforcement in the following month of August 1609?

Smith, in 1624, wrote to the Royal Commissioners,

We had but six ships to transport and supply vs, and but two hundred seuenty seuen men, boies, and women, *p.* 612.

According to the figures below, the number should be 295; but as they are round numbers, and Smith was here writing deliberately and at leisure, the 277 is probably correct. We have marked the six ships (1), (2), (3), &c.

The *Instructions* of 1606, *p.* xxxv, contemplated the number of Colonists to be sent out at "six score men."

Purchas, *Pilgrimes* iv. 1705, Ed. 1625, thus enumerates the first Expedition.

(1) *Susan Constant*, 100 tons, Admiral [*i.e.*, *flag ship*], Captain Newport, with	71
(2) *God speed*, 40 tons, Vice Admiral, Captain B. Gosnold, with	52
(3) A Pinnace, 20 tons, Rear Admiral, Captain J. Ratcliffe, with	21
	144

All these we take to be the Colonists (exclusive of Sailors) that left England in December 1606.

Percy states, *p.* lx, that on 4 April 1607, at the Isle of Virgins, they numbered "eight score persons." This we take to include Sailors, as well as Colonists; some of the latter having died.

If the Colonists then originally numbered on 4 April 1607,	144		
there had died, or returned, by 22 June 1607	39		
For, on that day, Newport left in the Settlement	—105		*p.* 93; 104, *p.* lxx; 100, *p.* 389.
There died of these before the arrival of the First Supply	67		*pp.* lxxvi, 9, 391.
So that, on the morning of 8 Jan. 1608, the Colony consisted of	38		*pp.* lxxxvi, 402, 488, 531, 611, 912.
(4) 8 Jan. 1608, the first part of First Supply arrived in Captain Newport's ship			*pp.* lxxxvi, 23, 100, 403.
(5) 20 April 1608, the second part arrived in Captain Nelson's *Phœnix*			*pp.* 33, 105, 409.
Total First Supply	120		*pp.* 107, 411.
	—158		
There died between the First and Second Supply	28		
	130		*pp.* 122, 434.
(6) [Oct.] 1608. The Second Supply arrived, in Captain Newport's ship	70		*pp.* 129, 445.
[Nov.] 1608. Captain Newport left	—200		*pp.* 129, 455.
By Smith's great care, of these, besides those drowned with Master Scrivener (*pp.* 143, 460) there died not above 6 or 7.		?	*pp.* 157, 473.
		?	

August, 1609. The Third Supply set out with 500 persons, *pp.* 161, 478 (of which 150, *pp.* 161, 479; or rather 180, *p.* xcviii, were shipwrecked at Bermuda): so that the portion that did arrive (and found 80 persons at James town, *p.* cii), was over 300. Therefore, when Smith left, there were in the colony 490 odd persons, *pp.* 167, 486; who all perished but about 60, *p.* 498, in the following winter. known as *The Starving Time*.

A True Relation of Occurrences and Accidents in Virginia. 1608.

1 [August] 1608. London, 4to. See title at *p.* 1. B.M. pressmark, C. 33. c. 35; G. 7121.

2 1866. Boston, Massa., 4to. *A true Relation of Virginia*, by Captain JOHN SMITH. With an Introduction and Notes by CHARLES DEANE. 315 copies printed. B.M. pressmark, 9602. bbb.

3 10 June 1884. Birmingham, England, 8vo. *The English Scholar's Library.*

A Map of Virginia &c. 1612.

1 1612. Oxford, 4to. See title at *p.* 41. B.M. pressmark, C. 33. c. 18; G. 7120.

2 1625. London, fol. Rev. S. PURCHAS, *Pilgrimes.* An abridgement of the *Map of Virginia* occurs in Vol. II. B.M. pressmark, 679. h. 12.

3 10 June 1884. Birmingham, England, 8vo. *The English Scholar's Library.*

A Description of New England &c. 1616.

1 [3-18 June] 1616. London, 4to. See title at *p.* 175. B.M. pressmarks, C. 13. a. 11 (2); C. 33. c. 12; G. 7122.

2 1617. Frankfort, 4to. LEVINUS HULSIUS. *A Description* forms the XIV. Voyage.

3 1707. Leyden, 8vo. P. VAN DER AA. *Naaukeurige Versameling.* Vol. 102, contains an abridgement of *A Description &c.* B.M. pressmark, 979. f. 2 (5.)

4 1837. Boston, Massa., U.S.A., 8vo. *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society.* 3rd Series. Vol. VI. contains *A Description &c.* B.M. pressmark, Ac. 8400.

5 1838. Washington, D.C., U.S.A., 8vo. PETER FORCE, *Collection of Historical Tracts. A Description &c.* is the first tract in Vol. II. B.M. pressmark, 1324. g.

6 1865. Boston, Massa., U.S.A., 4to. *A Description of New England; Observations and Discoveries in the North of America in the year of our Lord* 1614. *With the Success of six Ships that went the next year,* 1615. By Captain JOHN SMITH (*Admiral of that Country*). With a Facsimile of the Original Map. [*See p.* cxxxiv.] 250 copies printed. Published by WILLIAM VEAZIE.
The Preface to this reprint was written by CHARLES DEANE, Esq., in the name of the Publisher. B.M. pressmark, 10411. dd.

7 10 June 1884. Birmingham, England, 8vo. *The English Scholar's Library.*

New England's Trials. 1620.

1 [Dec.] 1620. London, 4to. See title at *p.* 233. B.M. pressmark, C. 33. c. 15.

2 [July] 1873. Cambridge, Mass., 4to. *New England's Trials,* written by Captain JOHN SMITH. A reprint of the rare first edition of 1620. With a Prefatory Note by CHARLES DEANE. The Preface is dated 1 July 1873. 50 copies printed. B.M. pressmark, 10408 bb.

3 10 June 1884. Birmingham, England, 8vo. *The English Scholar's Library.*

New England's Trials. 1622.

1 [October] 1622. London, 4to. See title at *p.* 249, and passage fixing the month in which it was written at *p.* 264. B.M. pressmarks, C. 33. c. 5; 1061. a. 121 (3); G. 7197.

2 1838. Washington, D.C., U.S.A., 8vo. PETER FORCE, *Collection of Historical Tracts. New England's Trials,* 1622, is the second Tract in Vol. II. B.M. pressmark, 1324. g.

3 [April] 1867. Providence, R.I., U.S.A. *New England's Trials,* 1622. A facsimile reprint issued by the late Mr JOHN CARTER BROWN, with the following prefatory note:—
"The interest connected with all the writings of Captain JOHN SMITH has induced the owner of the present tract, one of the rarest and least known of his publications, to print a few copies for distribution among the collectors of books relating to America.
"The reprint is a facsimile, page for page, including the wood-cut ornaments, of the original, which is the second edition. No copy of the first edition has fallen under the notice of the possessor of the present copy." J. C. B.
Providence, R.I., *April* 1867. 60 copies printed. B.M. pressmark, 10410. f.

4 10 June 1884. Birmingham, England, 8vo. *The English Scholar's Library.*

The General History of Virginia, Summer Isles, and New England, 1624.

1 [July] 1624. London, fol. (a) See title on engraved frontispiece, which, in this present impression, forms a folding plate opposite *p.* 272. B.M. pressmark, G. 7037.

∴ The engravings of the Duchess of Richmond and Matoaka (*p.* cxxxvi) did *not* form parts of this original edition.

2 1626. London, fol. (b) *Title edition only.* The same text issued with a fresh title page. B.M. pressmark, 601. l. 8.

3 1627. London, fol. (c) *Title edition only.* B.M. pressmark, 601. l. 9.

4 1632. London, fol. (d) *Title edition only.* B.M. pressmark, 984. f. 17.

5 1632. London, fol. (e) *Title edition only.* B.M. pressmark, 147. d. 2.

6 1812. London, 4to. J. Pinkerton. *A general Collection of . . . Voyages &c.* Vol. 13 contains the *General History* B.M. pressmark, 2057. d.

7 1819. Richmond, Va., U.S.A., 8vo. The *General History* is inserted in the midst of a reprint of the *True Travels.* B.M. pressmark, 1447. g 17.

8 10 June 1884. Birmingham, England, 8vo. *The English Scholar's Library.*

9 1907. Glasgow, 2 vols. 8vo, illustrated. *Captain John Smith's Travels.*

An Accidence for the Sea, 1626, *or* The Seaman's Grammar, 1627.

There are two Versions of this Work. The earlier one as Smith wrote it, and here printed at *pp.* 785-804: the later, in which it was recast altogether and much enlarged by B. F.

The First Version.

1 1626. London, 8vo. See title at *p.* 785. B.M. pressmarks, 533. d. 3 (1); 533. f. 21 (1).

2 1627. London, 8vo. *The Seaman's Grammar.* No copy at present in the British Museum. There is a copy in the Bodleian.

3 1636. London, 8vo. *An Accidence for the Sea &c.* Without any name of author, and with a new Preface by B. F. B.M. pressmark, 534. a. 32.

7 10 June 1884. Birmingham, England, 8vo. *The English Scholar's Library.*

8 1907. Glasgow, 2 vols. 8vo, illustrated. *Captain John Smith's Works.*

The Second Version.

4 [6 Nov. 1652.] 1653. London, 4to. *The Seaman's Grammar.* A rearranged and much enlarged edition of Smith's tract, now divided into 15 Chapters. B.M. pressmark, E. 679 (9).

5 1691. London, 4to (a) *The Seaman's Grammar.* B.M. pressmark, 51. c. 8.

6 1692. London 4to (b) *Title edition only.* B.M. pressmark, 533 d. 3 (2).

The True Travels &c., 1630.

1 1625. London, fol. Rev. S. Purchas's *Pilgrimes.* The substance of our Author's wanderings first appeared, abridged, in Vol. II. of the *Pilgrimes.* B.M. pressmark, 679. h. 12.

2 [Aug. 1629] 1630. London, fol. See title at *p.* 805. B.M. pressmarks, 566. g. 1 (1); B. 273 (1); G. 7195.

3 1678. Amsterdam, 4to. J. Sanderson. *Seer gedenchwaerdige vorjagien &c.* An abridgement of the *True Travels &c.*

4 1706. Leyden, 8vo. P. van der Aa. *Naaukeurige Versameling.* Vol. 73. B.M. pressmark, 979. c. 21 (2).

5 1707. Leyden, 8vo. P. van der Aa. *Naaukeurige Versameling.* Vol. 89. B.M. pressmark, 979. c. 23 (1).

6 1727. Leyden, fol. P. van der Aa. *Aanmerkenswaardigste Zee.* Deel 5. B.M. pressmark, 566. l. 7.

7 1732. London, fol. A. & J. Churchill. *Collection of Voyages, &c.* The *True Travels* occurs in Vol. II. B.M. pressmark, 566. k. 7.

8 1744. London, fol. A. & J. Churchill. *Collection of Voyages. &c.* The *True Travels* occurs in Vol. II. B.M. pressmark, 455. f. 1.

9 1752. London, fol. A. & J. Churchill. *Collection of Voyages, &c.* The *True Travels* occurs in Vol. II. B.M. pressmark, 215 e. 2.

10	1819.	Richmond, Va., U.S.A., 8vo. The *True Travels* are reprinted with the *General History*. B.M. pressmark, 1447. g. 17.
11	10 June 1884.	Birmingham, England, 8vo. *The English Scholar's Library.*
12	June 1907.	*Anno Dom.* 1593-1629. London and New York, 8vo. Edited, with Introduction, by ALEX. J. PHILIP. *The New University Library.*
13	1907.	Glasgow, 2 vols. 8vo, illustrated. *Captain John Smith's Works.*
14	Dec. 1908.	Cambridge, 8vo. Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by E. A. BENIAM Books I. to III. *English Literature for Schools.*

Advertisements to Unexperienced Planters, &c. 1631.

1	[Oct. 1630] 1631.	London, 4to. See title at *p.* 917. B.M. pressmark, C. 33. c. 14.
2	1832.	Boston, Massa., U.S.A., 8vo. *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society.* 3rd Series. Vol. III. contains the *Advertisements &c.* B.M. pressmark, Ac. 8400.
3	1865.	Boston, Massa., U.S.A., 4to. *Advertisements.* B.M. pressmark, 10413. h.
4	10 June 1884.	Birmingham, England, 8vo. *The English Scholar's Library.*

Lives of Captain John Smith.

1	1782.	Berlin, 8vo. CARL FRIEDRICH SCHEIBLER. *Reisen, Entdeckungen und Unternehmungen des Schifs* [!] *Capitain Iohan Schmidt.* B.M. pressmark, 1052. d. 1.
2	1834.	Boston, Massa., U.S.A. J. SPARKS. *The Library of American Biography. The Life of Captain John Smith*, by GEORGE S. HILLARD, is in Vol. II. B.M. pressmark, 2040. a.
3	[1843.]	New York, U.S.A. *The Life of Captain John Smith*, by W. GILMORE SIMMS. B.M. pressmark, 10880 c.
4	1881.	New York, U.S.A. *Lives of American Worthies. Captain John Smith, . . . A study of his Life and Writings*, by CHARLES DUDLEY WARNER.
5	1882.	New York. *Memoir*, by CHARLES KILTRIDGE TRUE.
6	1884.	London, 8vo. *The Life of Captain John Smith*, by JOHN ASHTON.
7	1893.	*Captain John Smith and his Critics*, by J. POINDEXTER.
8	1901.	London and New York, 8vo. *The Adventures of Captain John Smith*, by MARGARET P. WOODS.
9	1902.	LONGMANS, 8vo. *The Adventures of Captain John Smith*, by E. P. ROBERTS.
	1904.	New York. *Captain John Smith.*
10	1905.	MACMILLAN. *Captain John Smith*, by A. G. BRADLEY. *English Men of Action Series.*

See also *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. lxiii.; and for particulars regarding the story of Smith and Pocahontas, see ROLFE, vol. xlix., and Wyndham Robertson's *Pocahontas and her Descendants*, 1887.

A short chronological List of English books, co-ordinate, or supplementary to the present Text.

(All these Works were published in London, unless otherwise stated, from the time our Author went to Virginia; and will be found helpful to the further study of the History of our First English Colonies.)

Up to Captain Smith's death. 1631.

1590–1650.	LEVINUS HULSIUS, &c. *Collection of Voyages.* In German, &c. Frankfort, &c....	4to.
[1602–1648.	Governor WILLIAM BRADFORD. *Of Plimoth Plantation.* Mass. Hist. Soc. *Boston*, 1856]	8vo.
1609.	FERDINANDO DE SOTO. *Virginia richly valued.* Trans. by Rev. R. HAKLUYT	4to.
	R[OBERT] G[RAY]. *A good Spede to Virginia*	4to.
	Rev. WILLIAM SYMONDES. Sermon preached on 25 Apr. 1609	4to.
	MARC LESCARBOT. *Novia Francia &c.* Trans. by P. E[RONDELLE]	4to.
	[R. I.] *Nova Britannia Offeringe &c.*	4to.
1610.	[R. RICH. *Newes from Virginia.* In Verse. 1865.]	4to.
	WILLIAM CRASHAW, B.D. A Sermon preached on 21 Feb. 1609[–10]	4to.
	Council of Virginia. *A true and sincere declaration of the purpose and ends of the Plantation &c*	4to.
	Council for Virginia. *A true Declaration of the Estate of the Colonie in Virginia, &c.*	4to.

[1610-5. William Strachey. *History of Travaile into Virginia Britannia.* Hakluyt Soc. 1849.] 8vo.
1611. Thomas West, Lord De-la-Warre. *Relation, &c.* ... ... 4to.
1612. [R. I.] *The new Life of Virginea.* [Part II. of *Nova Britannia.*] ... ... 4to.
[William Strachey.] *For the Colony in Virginia Britannica. Lawes diuine, morall and martiall* ... ... 4to.
1613. Rev. Samuel Purchas *his Pilgrimage.* (2nd Ed. in 1614; 3rd Ed. in 1617; 4th Ed. in 1626.) fol.
W. C. *A Plaine Description of the Barmudas* .. .. 4to.
Rev. A. Whittaker. *Good news from Virginia.* With a *Preface* by W. Crashaw ... 4to.
Robert Harcourt. *A Relation of a Voyage to Guiana* ... ... 4to.
1615. Ralph Hamor. *A true Discourse of the present Estate of Virginia* ... ... 4to.
1618. *Newes of Sir Walter Raleigh: with the true Description of Guiana* ... ... 4to.
1619. Council for Virginia. *A Note of the Shipping &c. sent to Virginia* ... ... s. sh.
Council for Virginia. *Another Note of the Shipping &c. with the names of Adventurers* 4to.
1620. Council for Virginia. *A Declaration of the State of the Colony, 22 June* 1620 ... ... 4to.
Council for Virginia. *A Declaration . . . touching the present estate, 20 Sept.* 1620 ... 4to.
Governor John Mason. *A Briefe Discourse of the New-found-land. Edinburgh* ... 4to.
Richard Whitbourne. *A Discourse and Discovery of Newfoundland* ... ... 4to.
Bishop John King. A Sermon preached on 6 March 1620 ... ... 4to.
1622. R[obert] C[ushman]. A Sermon preached at New Plimouth, 9 Dec. 1621... ... ... 4to.
Bermuda. *Orders and Constitutions &c. 6 Feb.* 1621[-2] ... ... 4to.
Rev. Patrick Copland. A Sermon preached on the 18 April 1622 ... ... 4to.
[Rev. John Brinsley.] *A Consolation for our Grammar Schools* ... ... 4to.
[John Bonniel.] *His Maiesties gracious Letter.* About Silk Works and Vines ... 4to.
[G. Mourt?] *A Relation or Iournall of the beginning of . . . New Plimouth* ... ... 4to.
Edward Waterhouse. *A Declaration of the State of the Colony . . . with A Relation of the barbarous Massacre* ... ... 4to.
Rev. John Donne, D.D. A Sermon preached on 13 November 1622... ... ... 4to.
? *A brief Relation of the Discovery of New England,* 1607–1622 ... ... 4to.
Richard Whitbourne. *A loving Invitation for . . . the Plantation in Newfoundland* 4to.
1624. Sir William Alexander, afterwards Earl of Sterling. *An Encouragement to the Colonies,* 4to. *Title Editions* in 1625 and 1630. 4to.
E[dward] W[inslow]. *Good Newes from New England* ... ... 4to.
[On the 28th July 1624, the following was entered at Stationers' Hall, London (*Transcript,* iv. 112; *Ed.* 1877), but query if ever published:
Captain John Jefferies. *News from Virginia, or Virginia stript naked.* ?]
1625. Rev. Samuel Purchas *his Pilgrimes* ... ... fol.
Rev. William Morrell. *New England &c.* In Latin and English Verse ... ... 4to.
Sir Robert Gordon. *Encouragements . . . Cape Briton, now New Galloway. Edinburgh* 4to.
John Hagthorpe. *Englands Exchequer . . . concerning Plantations* ... ... 4to.
1626. Orpheus junior [Sir William Vaughan]. *The Golden Fleece . . . from Newfoundland* 4to.
1628. Christopher Levett. *A Voyage into New England,* 1623–4 ... ... 4to.
Governor R[obert] H[ayman]. *Quodlibets from Newfoundland* ... ... 4to.
1630. [Rev. Francis Higginson.] *New Englands Plantation.* (Three editions in this year)... 4to.
[Rev. John White.] *The Planter's Plea; or, the Grounds of Plantation examined* ... 4to.
[Rev. John Cotton.] *Gods promise to his Plantation* ... ... 4to.

Later Works.

1632. ? *A publication of Guiana's Plantation, &c.* ... ... 4to.
1634. William Wood. *New England's Prospect* ... ... 4to.
1635. Luke Fox. *North-west Fox; or, FOX from the North-west passage* ... ... 4to.
1635. Jod. Hondius. *Historia Mundi, &c.* Trans. by Wye Saltonstall ... ... fol.
1637. Thomas Morton. *New English Canaan* ... ... 4to.
1638. John Underhill. *Newes from America, or a discoverie . . . of New England...* ... 4to.
1648. Thomas Gage. *The English American . . . or a New Survey of the West Indies* ... fol.
1654. [Edward Johnson.] *A History of New England,* 1628–1652 ... ... 4to.
1659. Ferdinando Gorges. *America painted to the Life.* 4 Parts ... ... 4to.
1669. Nathaniel Morton. *New England's Memorial* ... ... 4to.
1677. William Hubbard. *The present State of New England* ... ... 4to.
1705. R[obert] B[everley]. *History and Present State of Virginia.* (2nd Ed. in 1722) ... 8vo.
1736–55. Rev. T. Prince. *A Chronological History of New England. Boston, Massa.* ... 8vo.
1747. William Stith. *History of the First Discovery &c. of Virginia. Williamsburg, Va.* 8vo.
1804–16. John Burk. *History of Virginia from its first settlement.* 3 Vols. *Petersburg, Va.* 8vo.
1819–23. W. W. Hening. *The Statutes at Large . . . of Virginia from . . .* 1619. 13 Vols. *Richmond, Va.* ... ... 8vo.
1860. Charles Campbell. *History of the Colony and Ancient Dominion of Virginia. Philadelphia, Pa.* ... ... 8vo.
1861. Bishop William Meade. *Old Churches, Ministers, and Families in Virginia.* 2 Vols. *Philadelphia, Pa.* ... ... 8vo.
1869. Edward Duffield Neill. *History of the Virginia Company of London. Albany, N.Y.* 4to.
1871. Edward Duffield Neill. *The English Colonization of America...* ... ... 8vo.

JAMES LENOX, CHARLES DEANE, and JUSTIN WINSOR.

The Ten *States* of SMITH's *New England* Map.

Mr. JUSTIN WINSOR, at p. 52 of the first volume of the noble Memorial History of Boston, Massa. 4 *Vols.* 1880–1, *has given the following, which is the fullest account of the various issues of the* New England *Map.*

SMITH's map, as the real foundation of our New England cartography, deserves particular attention. To the draft which he made he affixed the Indian names, or such as whim had prompted him to give while he surveyed the shores. There is rarely found in copies of the *Description of New England* a leaf [*see p.* 232], printed on one side only, which reads as follows: "Because the Booke was printed ere the Prince his Highnesse had altered the names, I intreate the Reader peruse this schedule; which will plainly shew him the correspondence of the old names to the new." Below this are two columns, one giving the old names, the other the new ones; the latter such as Prince CHARLES, then a lad of fifteen, had affixed to the different points, bays, rivers, and other physical features, when SMITH showed him the map. As engraved, the map has the Prince's nomenclature; the book has SMITH's or the earlier; and this rare leaf is to make the two mutually intelligible.

So far as is known to me, this map exists in ten States of the plate, and I purpose now to note their distinctive features. In this study I make use of some memoranda of Mr. JAMES LENOX and Mr. CHAS. DEANE, printed in *Norton's Literary Gazette*, new series, i. (1854) 134, 219; but I add one condition (VIII.) to their enumeration.

I. The original condition of the map bears in the lower left-hand corner, *Simon Pasæus sculpsit; Robert Clerke excudit;* and in the lower right-hand corner, *London, Printed by Geor: Low.* The title NEW ENGLAND is in large letters at the top, to the right of it the English arms, and beneath it, *The most remarqueable parts thus named | by the high and mighty Prince* CHARLES, | *Prince of great Britaine.* The latitude is marked on the right-hand side only: there are no marks of longitude. Boston Harbor is indicated by a bay with eight islands, and a point of land extending from the southwest within it. The *River Charles* extends inland from the northwest corner of the bay, a short distance. A whale, a ship, and a fleet are represented upon the sea. There is no date beneath the scale. There are many names on later states not yet introduced, and some of the present names are changed in the later impressions, as will be noted below.

Of the names which the Prince assigned, but three became permanently attached to the localities, and these are,—*Plimouth* to the spot which CHAMPLAIN had called *Port St. Louis*, which the natives called *Accomack*, and which the Pilgrims continued to call by this newer name, seven or eight years later; *Cape Anna*, for which SMITH had sacrificed the remembrance of his Eastern romance [*p.* 204]; and *The River Charles*, which had been previously known as *Massachusets River;* while the name *Massachusets Mount*, earlier applied to our Blue Hill, became, under CHARLES's pen, *Cheuyot hills.* GOSNOLD's *Cape Cod* proved better rooted than CHARLES's monument to his dynasty, *Cape James*, and so the Prince's *Stuard's Bay* has given place to Cape Cod Bay. Our own name,—Boston,—as is the case with many other well-known names of this day, appears in connection with a locality remote from its present application. It supplanted SMITH's *Accominticus*, and stood for the modern York in Maine. Two of the Captain's names were suffered to stand,—*New England* as the general designation of the country, and *Smith's Isles*, within ten years afterwards to be known among the English as the *Isles of Shoals.* *London* was put upon the shore about where Hingham or perhaps Cohasset is; *Oxford* stood for the modern Marshfield; *Poynt Suttliff* is adjacent, and does duty for CHAMPLAIN's *C. de S. Louis* and the present Brant Rock; and *Poynt George* is the designation of the Gurnet.

Of the copies of the book known to be in America, but one has the map in this state, and that is the Prince copy, in which the map is unfortunately imperfect, but not in an essential part. From this copy C. A. SWETT, of Boston, engraved the fac-simile which appeared in VEAZIE's reprint [*p.* CXXX.] of the *Description of New England*, in 1865.

In 1617, HULSIUS, the German collector, translated SMITH's *Description* for his *Voyages*, and re-engraved the map; but the names in the lower corners were omitted, and SMITH's title, the verses concerning him, and some of the explanations were given in German. HULSIUS's map, beside accompanying his Part XIV., first edition, 1617, and second edition, 1628, is often found in Part XIII. (Hamor's Virginia), and is also given in Part XX. (New England and Virginia), 1629.

II. The date, 1614, is for the first time inserted under the scale, and the names *P. Travers* and *Gerrards Ils* are put in near *Pembrocks Bay* (Penobscot). A copy of this second state is in the Harvard College copy of the *Description* of 1616. We give a heliotype of a portion of it. A lithographic fac-simile of the whole, but without the ships, &c., is given in 3 *Mass. Hist. Coll.* iii., and in a reduced form by photo-lithography in PALFREY's *New England*, i. 95. Mr. LENOX supposed that this state of the plate may have been first used in the 1620 edition of SMITH's *New England's Trials*, no copy of which was known to be in this country when Mr. DEANE, in 1873, reprinted it in the *Proceedings of the Mass. Hist. Society*, Feb. 1873.

III. Smith's escutcheon, but without the motto, was introduced in the lower left-hand corner. This state is found in Mr. Deane's copy of the *Generall Historie*, 1624, and in the Lenox copy of the *Description* of 1616. Mr. Lenox supposed this state may have been first used in the 1622 edition of *New England's Trials*.

IV. The motto *Vincere est vivere* is put in a scroll to the left of Smith's escutcheon. The degrees of latitude and longitude are noted on all sides. Copies of this state are found in the Charles Deane and Carter Brown copies of the *Description* of 1616, and it was also in the Crowninshield copy, taken from Boston to England some years since. Mr. Lenox supposed this state to have originally belonged to the first edition of the *Generall Historie*, 1624, in which Smith gathered his previous independent issues. There was no change in the several successive editions of this book (1624, 1626, 1627, 1632, the last in two issues) except in the front matter; and, speaking of this book, Field, in his *Indian Bibliography*, p. 366, says of the original issue, "It is so commonly the case as almost to form the rule, that even the best copies have been made up by the substitution of later editions of some of the maps." Some of the copies were on large paper.

V. The name *Paynes Ils* is put down on the Maine coast. Cross-lines are made on the front of the breastplate in the portrait of Smith, in the upper left-hand corner, and the whole portrait is retouched. *Robert Clerke's* name is partly obliterated. This state is supposed to belong to the 1626 edition of the *Generall Historie*. The edition of this date in Cornell University Library (Sparks Collection) has but a part of the map, which, however, so far conforms. It is in Mr. Barlow's 1624 edition.

VI. The name of *James Reeue* in the lower right-hand corner is substituted for that of *George Low*. The name of the engraver is given with an additional *s*,—*Passæus*. This state is supposed by Mr. Lenox to belong to the 1627 edition of the *Generall Historie*, of which there are copies in the Mass. Hist. Soc. Library, and in the Prince Library (with notes by Prince). This state is in the 1632 edition in Harvard College Library.

VII. The last line of the inscription at the top is changed to read: *nowe King of great Britaine*. In the portrait the armor is figured. *West's Bay* is placed on the outer side of *Cape Iames*. *Pt. Standish* corresponds to the modern Manomet Point. The word NEW is inserted above *Plimouth*. *P. Wynthrop* is put north of *Cape Anna*. *P. Reeues* is put near *Ipswich*. *Salem* is laid down just north of *Cape Anna*. *Fullerton Ile* is changed to *Frauncis Ile; Cary Ils* to *Claiborne Ils* (off Boston Harbor); and *P. Murry* to *P. Saltonstale* (south of Boston Harbor). The bay (Boston Harbor) is enlarged westward, a point of land within it erased, and the islands increased from eight to eighteen.

Mr. Lenox held that this state first appeared in Smith's *Advertisements to Planters*, 1631, and it is found in the Carter Brown copy of this tract. The Harvard College copy, however, has the state X., and the Charles Deane copy has IX. Mr. Lenox has questioned if this state did not sometimes make part of Higginson's *New England's Plantation*, of which there were three editions printed in 1630, the first of twenty, and the second enlarged to twenty-six pages. The two copies of the book in Harvard College Library, the three editions in the Lenox Library, and the copy which was in the Brinley sale, all, however, want the map. Sparke, who printed the second edition of Higginson, probably owned the plate, as he printed the *Generall Historie* of 1624, 1626, and 1627, and the *Historia Mundi* of 1635, which all had the map. Yet, if it properly belongs to Higginson, it is strange that a map misplacing *Salem*, where Higginson lived, should be used; and the names *Wynthrop* and *Saltonstale* could have been given only in anticipation of the arrival of those gentlemen.

VIII. *Martins Ile* is given in Penobscot Bay. Perhaps some of the changes named under IX. were made in this state (except the Plymouth Company's arms); for the only example of it which I have found is a fragment (two thirds) of the map belonging to Harvard College Library, the westerly third being gone. It belonged, perhaps, to the first issue of the 1632 edition of the *Generall Historie*.

IX. The arms of the Council for New England are given in the centre of the plate. The following changes may first have appeared in the preceding number. The name *Charlton* is inserted just south of the mouth of *The River Charles*. *Salem* misplaced is obliterated, and the name is inserted in its proper place. Two unfinished arms of the sea, on the north of *Talbotts Bay*, are extended inland, covering the position of a church in previous states. This may have belonged to the second 1632 issue of the *Generall Historie*, and it appears in such copies in Harvard College Library and in Mr. Barlow's copy. It is in Mr. Deane's *Advertisement to Planters* of 1631.

X. *The River Charles* is extended to the left-hand edge of the plate, and symbols of towns with figures of men, animals, and representations of Indian huts are scattered near it. On its north bank the following names are inserted, beginning at the west: *Watertowne*, *Newtowne*, *Medford*, *Charlestown*, and beyond the *Fawmouth* of the original plate *Saugus* is put in. The south bank shows *Roxberry*, *Boston* (represented as five leagues up the river, by the scale), and *Winnisime*. *Cheuyot hills* is erased and the name *Dorchester* is inserted along the eastern slope of the picture of the hill which still remains. *London* and *Oxford* still stand. A school of fish is delineated under the single ship. Under the compass these words appear: *He that desyres to know more of the Estate of new England lett him read a new Book of the prospecte of new England & ther he shall have Sattisfaction.* Although the old date, 1614, is still kept on the plate, this inscription shows that this state followed the publication of Wood's *New England's Prospects*, 1634, and it seems to have been made for the following work: *Historia Mundi*, or *Mercator's Atlas . . . Enlarged with new Mapps and Tables by the studious industrie of Jodocus Hondy. Englished by W*[ye] *S*[altonstall]. *London, Printed for Michaell Sparke and Samuel Cartwright*, 1635, folio.

This state is found in the Harvard College copy of the *Advertisement to Planters*, 1631.

The modern fac-simile, by Swett, of the first state was also altered for Veazie to suit this condition, but the engraver did not observe that a third *s* had been inserted in the name of *Passæus*. This altered engraving is found in J. S. Ienness's *Isles of Shoals*, New York, 1873.

Mrs. HERBERT JONES.

Description of the original painting of POCAHONTAS.

Mrs. HERBERT JONES of Sculthorpe, Fakenham, Norfolk, the author of Sandringham, Past and Present, 1883, *has kindly furnished the following account of the Gorlestone picture.*

While POCAHONTAS was in London, her portrait was painted. It has become known to us by the quarto engraving made from it by SIMON DE PASSE, which may occasionally be met with, and which first appeared with other portraits, in a volume by the brothers DE PASSE, 1616–23. SIMON DE PASSE was an artist whose family came from the Low Countries, and numbered several engravers among its members. He was born at Utrecht in 1591, and practised in England about ten years, commencing in the year 1613, the date of his earliest English work. He was not a painter, but engraved the portraits, chiefly from NICHOLAS HILLIARD, of many distinguished persons; among them JAMES I., HENRY, Prince of WALES, the Earl of SOMERSET, and the Duke of BUCKINGHAM.

But the original painting of POCAHONTAS—a picture which has long been sought for, and which is now ascertained to be in Norfolk—claims description and notice, and a mention of the one very slight clue which can be given to its history.

The last Mr. PETER ELWIN, who lived at the family seat, Booton Hall, near Aylsham, in Norfolk, and who was born in 1730, and died in 1798, was a descendant of the daughter and heiress of ANTHONY ROLFE, of Tuttington. She had married an ELWIN, and had brought the Tuttington estate into the ELWIN family. It was in consequence of this connexion between the ROLFES and ELWINS that a portrait of POCAHONTAS was presented to the said Mr. PETER ELWIN, of Booton, by a lady, Madame ZUCHELLI. This is mentioned in his note-book, the entry (undated) being in his own handwriting: *POCAHONTAS, given to me by Madame ZUCHELLI.* As Mr. ELWIN habitually added the name of the painter, in his memoranda of the many pictures in his possession, and omitted to do so in this instance, it is probable that the lady was ignorant of it.* No memorandum was left by Mr. ELWIN of the previous owners of the portrait, but he possessed the knowledge (as is remembered by his grandson, from the testimony of Mrs. PETER ELWIN, who survived her husband thirty-two years †) that the picture was what it professed to be; namely, a painting of the time of JAMES I., and an authentic representation from life of POCAHONTAS.

The picture itself, which is finely painted, bears every token of genuineness, both as to the assumed period of execution, and as to its direct delineation of the living features of the sitter. It is the undoubted original of DE PASSE'S engraving, but is without signature. The artist can only be conjectured; he was probably one of that group of painters in oils, employed in the days of ELIZABETH and the two first STUARTS, whose works are of recognized excellence, and who rank next and nearest to the three or four of exalted genius—as ZUCCHERO, JANSEN, and VANDYCK. Such an one was NICOLA LOCKER, who painted an oval portrait of Dr. KING, Bishop of London; the Bishop who was the friend of POCAHONTAS, and in whose palace she was a visitor.

The dimensions of the picture are two feet six inches and a half by two feet one inch. A painted oval encloses the portrait. The painting of the face, and of the details of the dress is clear and finished, and shows great delicacy and beauty of execution. The whole effect of the colouring is rich, mellow, and deep-toned, with the indescribable quality shed over it which time alone can give. The portrait is slightly smaller than life, the face stamped unmistakably with the Indian type, and denoting intelligence and thoughtfulness, with much dignity both in its expression, and in the carriage of the head. She looks at once royal in birth and in nature. The features are handsome and well formed, the lips bright red, the skin dark, smooth, and vellum-like, with a suspicion of a copper tint. The eyes are remarkable; prolonged at the corners, more meditative than brilliant, like still pools rather than flashing water. Their colour is a rich, decided, undeniable brown, with very blue tints on the white eyeballs. The eyebrows are straight and black, the short hair by the ear throws out a glistening pearl earring. The deep lace ruff, rising behind, defines sharply the shape of the face, which shows the high cheekbones, and the outline narrowing abruptly below them, so characteristic of her race. The hat she wears on her head, and which in the print has a grotesque appearance, sinks unnoticed into the scarcely less dark background, while the richly-chased broad golden band round it gives the effect of a coronet, and is in happy combination with the colouring of the face. She wears a mantle of red brocaded velvet, much ornamented with gold; the under dress dark, buttoned with gold buttons. A small, taper hand holds a fan of three white ostrich feathers.

Around the portrait are the words, *Matoaka Rebecka filia potentiss Princ: Powhatani Imp. Virginiæ.*

On a space beneath:—*Matoaks als* [*i.e.*, alias] *Rebecka, daughter to the mighty prince Powhatani Emperour of Attanoughkomouck als* [*i.e.*, alias] *Virginia, converted and baptized in the Christian faith, and wife to the worsh*[*ipfu*]*ll Mr. Thos. Rolff.*

Close under the figure, within the oval, is written, *Ætatis suæ* 21. *A°* 1616.

* It has been surmised that Mr. ELWIN'S unusual omission of the painter's name meant that *ZUCHELLI* stood for the artist as well as the giver, but no painter of that name has ever been known to visit England.

† She died April, 1830, aged eighty-five years.

THE ROLFE PORTRAIT OF POCAHONTAS.

A

TRVE RE-

lation of such occur-

rences and accidents of noate as

hath hapned in Virginia since the first planting of that Collony, which is now resident in the South part thereof, till the last returne from thence.

[The ascription on the Title-pages that were probably first printed:

Written by a Gentleman of the said Collony, to a worshipfull friend of his in England.]

[Ascription on what were probably the second Title-pages (as in the two British Museum copies, C. 33. c. 35 and Grenville 7,121), specifying some Author, though the wrong one.

Written by Th. Watson. *Gent. one of the said Collony, to a worshipfull* friend of his in England.]

[Ascription on the corrected final Title-pages, issued with the *Preface* on *pp.* 3-4.]

Written by Captain Smith, *Coronell of the said Collony, to a worshipfull* friend of his in England.

LONDON

Printed for *Iohn Tappe*, and are to bee solde at the Grey-hound in Paules-Church-yard, by *W. W.*

1608

This *True Relation* is the earliest printed account of the James river Settlement.

It is quite clear from the text at *p.* 40, that this *Relation* was finished *after* the loading of the *Phœnix*, and her leaving James Town for England: and we know from *pp.* 109, 413, that she was off Cape Henry on the 2nd June 1607. Therefore the latest date that can be assigned for its composition is that day.

The *Phœnix* made a quick voyage home, and reached London before the following 7 July, see *p.* xcii.

This Relation was thus entered for publication at Stationers' Hall.

13 Augusti [1608]

William Welby. John Tappe/ Entred for their copie vnder the handes of. master. WILSON and Th[e]warden Master **Lownes** / A booke called *A true relation of suche occurrences and accidentes of note as haue happened in Virginia synce the first plantinge of that Colonye which is nowe resident in the south parte of Virginia till master NELSONS comminge away from them, &c.* vjd.

A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554–1640 *A.D.*, Ed. by E. ARBER, iii. 388, London, 1876.

For the bibliography of this Tract, see *p.* cxxx.

This *Relation* is nothing but an ordinary "pamphlet of news," and is carelessly printed.

Mr. CHARLES DEANE, at *p.* xiv of his reprint of 1866, states:

"This little black-letter quarto has for a long time been considered 'rare' among book-collectors, although at the present time I know of six copies in this country [*U. S. A.*]. Five of these I have had the privilege of examining. In the library of Colonel ASPINWALL, late Consul of the United States in London, which was recently purchased by Mr. BARLOW, of New York, is a copy with a *Smith* title page, and explanatory preface. Mr. JAMES LENOX, of New York, also has a copy like that. Mr. JOHN CARTER BROWN, of Providence, R.I., has a copy, with the *Watson* title page, in a manuscript *fac-simile*, and without the explanatory preface. A copy with the *Watson* title, and also with the preface, is in the library of the New York Historical Society. A copy wanting the title page, and also the preface, is in the library of Harvard College.

"Mr. LENOX has within a few months [1876] received from London a second copy of this tract, differing in its title page from either of the others described. It has neither the name of *Smith* nor of *Watson* on the title page, but simply the words, *By a Gentleman*. It also contains the explanatory preface.

"The text of all these copies is the same, there never having been but one edition. The leaves are not paged."

To the Courteous Reader.

COurteous, Kind, and indifferent Readers, whose willingnesse to reade and heare this following discourse, doth explaine to the world your hearty affection, to the prosecuting and furtherance of so worthy an action: so it is, that like to an vnskilfull actor, who hauing by misconstruction of his right Cue, ouer-slipt himselfe, in beginning of a contrary part, and fearing the hatefull hisse of the captious multitude, with a modest blush retires himselfe in priuate; as doubting the reprehension of his whole audience in publicke, and yet againe vpon further deliberation, thinking it better to know their censures at the first, and vpon submission to reape pardon, then by seeking to smother it, to incurre the danger of a secret scandall: Imboldening himselfe vpon the curteous kindnesse of the best, and not greatly respecting the worst, comes fourth againe, makes an Apollogie for himselfe, shewes the cause of his error, craues pardon for his rashnes, and in fine, receiues a generall applauditie of the whole assemblie: so I gentle Readers, happening vpon this relation by chance (as I take it, at the second or third hand) induced thereunto by diuers well willers of the action, and none wishing better towards it then my selfe, so farre foorth as my poore abilitie can or may stretch too, I thought good to publish it: but the Author being absent from the presse, it cannot be doubted but that some faults haue escaped in the printing, especially in the names of Countries, Townes, and People, which are somewhat strange vnto vs; but most of all, and which is the chiefe error, (for want of knowledge of the Writer) some of the bookes were printed vnder the name of *Thomas Watson*, by whose occasion I know not, vnlesse it were the ouer rashnesse, or mistaking of the workemen [*i.e., the printers*], but [1608]

[1608] since hauing learned that the saide discourse was written by Captaine *Smith,* who is one of the Counsell there in *Virginia*: I thought good to make the like Apollogie, by shewing the true Author so farre as my selfe could learne, not doubting, but that the wise noting it as an error of ignorance, will passe it ouer with patience; and if worthy an applauditie, to reserue it to the Author, whose paines in my iudgement deserueth commendations; somewhat more was by him written, which being as I thought (fit to to be priuate) I would not aduenture to make it publicke[.] what more may be expected concerning the scituation of the Country, the nature of the clime, number of our people there resident, the manner of their gouernment, and liuing, the commodities to be produced, and the end and effect it may come too, I can say nothing more then is here written: only what I haue learned and gathered from the generall consent of all (that I haue conuersed withall) aswell marriners as others, which haue had imployment that way; is that the Country is excellent and pleasant, the clime temperate and health full, the ground fertill and good, the commodities to be expected (if well followed) many, for our people, the worst being already past, these former hauing indured the heate of the day, whereby those that shall succeede, may at ease labour for their profit, in the most sweete, coole, and temperate shade: the action most honorable, and the end to the high glory of God, to the erecting of true religion among Infidells, to the ouerthrow of superstition and idolatrie, to the winning of many thousands of wandring sheepe, vnto Christs fold, who now, and till now, haue strayed in the vnknowne paths of Paganisme, Idolatrie, and superstition: yea, I say the Action being well followed, as by the graue Senators, and worthy aduenturors, it hath beene worthily begunne: will tend to the euerlasting renowne of our Nation, and to the exceeding good and benefit of our Weale publicke in generall: whose Counsells, labours, godly and industrious endeuours, I beseech the mightie *Iehouah* to blesse, prosper, and further, with his heauenly ayde, and holy assistance.

Farewell.

I. H.

A

True relation of such occurrences

and accidents of note, as hath hapned at *Virginia*, since the first planting of that Collony, *which is now resident in the South part* thereof, till the last returne.

Inde Sir, commendations remembred, &c. [1607]
You shall vnderstand that after many crosses in the downes by tempests, wee arriued safely vppon the Southwest part of the great Canaries: within foure or fiue daies after we set saile for *Dominica*, the 26. of Aprill: the [*Pp.* 91, 387.] first land we made, wee fell with Cape *Henry*, the verie mouth of the Bay of *Chissiapiacke*, which at that present we little expected, hauing by a cruell storme bene put to the Northward:

Anchoring in this Bay twentie or thirtie went a shore with the Captain, and in comming aboard [*on land*], they were assalted with certaine Indians, which charged them within Pistoll shot: in which conflict, Captaine *Archer* and *Mathew Morton* were shot: wherupon Captaine *Newport* [*Pp.* 91, 896.] seconding them, made a shot at them, which the Indians little respected, but hauing spent their arrowes retyred without harme. And in that place was the Box opened, [*P.* 91.] wherin the Counsell for *Virginia* was nominated: and

[1607] arriuing at the place [*James Town*] where wee are now seated,
[*f.* 91.] the Counsell was sworn, and the President elected, which for that yeare was Maister *Edm. Maria Wingfield*, where was made choice for our scituation, a verie fit place for the erecting of a great cittie, about which some contention passed betwixt Captaine *Wingfield* and Captaine *Gosnold*: notwithstanding, all our provision was brought a shore, and with as much speede as might bee wee went about our fortification.

[*ff.* 91, 387.] The two and twenty day of Aprill [*or rather May* 1607], Captain *Newport* and my selfe with diuers others, to the number of twenty two persons, set forward to discouer the Riuer, some fiftie or sixtie miles, finding it in some places broader, and in some narrower, the Countrie (for the moste part) on each side plaine high ground, with many fresh Springes, the people in all places kindely intreating vs, daunsing and feasting vs with strawberries, Mulberies, Bread, Fish, and other their Countrie prouisions wherof we had plenty: for which Captaine *Newport* kindely requited their least fauours with Bels, Pinnes, Needles, beades, or Glasses, which so contented them that his liberallitie made them follow vs from place to place, and euer kindely to respect vs. In the midway staying to refresh our selues in a little Ile foure or fiue sauages came vnto vs which described vnto vs the course of the Riuer, and after in our iourney, they often met vs, trading with vs for such prouision as wee had, and ariuing at *Arsatecke*, hee whom we supposed to bee the chiefe King of all the rest, moste kindely entertained vs, giuing vs in a guide to go with vs vp the Riuer to *Powhatan*, of which place their great Emperor taketh his name, where he that they honored for King vsed vs kindely. But to finish this discouerie, we passed on further, where within an ile [*a mile*] we were intercepted with great craggy stones in the midst of the riuer, where the water falleth so rudely, and with such a violence, as not any boat can possibly passe, and so broad disperseth the streame, as there is not past fiue or sixe Foote at a low water, and to the shore scarce passage with a barge, the water floweth foure foote, and the freshes by reason of the Rockes haue left markes of the inundations 8. or 9. foote: The south side is plaine low ground, and the north side high moun-

taines, the rockes being of a grauelly nature, interlaced with many vains of glistring spangles. [1607]

That night we returned to *Powhatan*: the next day (being Whitsunday after dinner) we returned to the fals, leauing a mariner in pawn with the Indians for a guide of theirs, hee that they honoured for King followed vs by the riuer. That afternoone we trifled in looking vpon the Rockes and riuer (further he would not goe) so there we erected a crosse, and that night taking our man at *Powhatans*, Captaine *Newport* congratulated his kindenes with a Gown and a Hatchet: returning to *Arsetecke*, and stayed there the next day to obserue the height [*latitude*] therof, and so with many signes of loue we departed.

The next day the Queene of *Agamatack* kindely intreated vs, her people being no lesse contented then the rest, and from thence we went to another place (the name whereof I doe not remember) where the people shewed vs the manner of their diuing for Mussels, in which they finde Pearles.

That night passing by *Weanock* some twentie miles from our Fort, they according to their former churlish condition, seemed little to affect vs, but as wee departed and lodged at the point of *Weanocke*, the people the next morning seemed kindely to content vs, yet we might perceiue many signes of a more Iealousie in them then before, and also the Hinde that the King of *Arseteck* had giuen vs, altered his resolution in going to our Fort, and with many kinde circumstances left vs there. This gaue vs some occasion to doubt some mischiefe at the Fort, yet Captaine *Newport* intended to haue visited *Paspahegh* and *Tappahanocke*, but the instant change of the winde being faire for our return we repaired to the fort with all speed [27 *May*], where the first we heard was that 400. Indians the day before [26 *May*] had assalted the fort, and supprised it, had not God (beyond al their expectations) by meanes of the shippes (at whom they shot with their Ordinances and Muskets) caused them to retire, they had entred the fort with our own men, which were then busied in setting Corne, their armes beeing then in driefats and few ready but certain Gentlemen of their own, in which conflict, most of the Counsel was hurt, a boy slaine in the Pinnas, and thirteene or fourteene more hurt. [*pp.* 92, 388.]

[1607] With all speede we pallisadoed our Fort: (each other
[*pp.* 92, 388.] day) for sixe or seauen daies we had alarums by ambuscadoes, and four or fiue cruelly wounded by being abroad: the Indians losse wee know not, but as they report three were slain and diuers hurt.

[*p.* 93.] Captaine *Newport* hauing set things in order, set saile for England the 22 of June [1607], leauing prouision for 13. or 14 weeks.

The day before the Ships departure, the King of *Pamaunke* [*i.e.*, *Opechancanough*] sent the Indian that had met vs before in our discouerie, to assure vs peace; our fort being then palisadoed round, and all our men in good health and comfort, albeit, that thro[u]gh some discontented humors, it did not so long continue. For the President and Captaine *Gosnold*, with the rest of the Counsell, being for the moste part discontented with one another, in so much, that things were neither carried with that discretion nor any busines effected in such good sort as wisdome would, nor our owne good and safetie required, whereby, and through the hard dealing of our President, the rest of the counsell beeing diuerslie affected through his audacious commaund; and for Captaine *Martin*, albeit verie honest, and wishing the best good, yet so sicke and weake; and my selfe so disgrac'd through others mallice: through which disorder God (being angrie with vs) plagued vs with such famin and sicknes, that the liuing were scarce able to bury the dead: our want of sufficient and good victualls, with continuall watching, foure or fiue each night at three Bulwarkes, being the chiefe cause: onely of Sturgion wee had great store, whereon our men would so greedily surfet, as it cost manye their liues: the Sack, Aquauitie, and other preseruatiues for our health, being kept onely in the Presidents hands, for his owne diet, and his few associates.

[*pp.* 95, 391.] Shortly after Captaine *Gosnold* fell sicke, and within three weekes died. Captaine *Ratcliffe* being then also verie sicke and weake, and my selfe hauing also tasted of the extremitie therof, but by Gods assistance being well recouered. *Kendall* about this time, for diuers reasons deposed from being of the Councell: and shortly after it pleased God (in our extremity) to moue the Indians to

bring vs Corne, ere it was halfe ripe, to refresh vs, when we rather expected when they would destroy vs: [1607]

About the tenth of September there was about 46. of our men dead, at which time Captaine *Wingfield* hauing ordred the affaires in such sort that he was generally hated of all, in which respect with one consent he was deposed from his presidencie, and Captaine *Ratcliffe* according to his course was elected.

Our prouision being now within twentie dayes spent, the Indians brought vs great store both of Corne and bread ready made: and also there came such aboundance of Fowles into the Riuers, as greatly refreshed our weake estates, wherevppon many of our weake men were presently able to goe abroad.

As yet we had no houses to couer vs, our Tents were rotten, and our Cabbins worse then nought: our best commoditie was Yron which we made into little chissels.

The president['s], and Captaine *Martins* sicknes, constrayned me to be Cape Marchant, and yet to spare no paines in making houses for the company; who notwithstanding our misery, little ceased their mallice, grudging, and muttering. [*Pp.* 96, 392.]

As at this time were most of our chiefest men either sicke or discontented, the rest being in such dispaire, as they would rather starue and rot with idlenes, then be perswaded to do any thing for their owne reliefe without constraint: our victualles being now within eighteene dayes spent, and the Indians trade decreasing, I was sent to the mouth of the riuer, to *Kegquouhtan* an Indian Towne, to trade for Corne, and try the riuer for Fish, but our fishing we could not effect by reason of the stormy weather. The Indians thinking vs neare famished, with carelesse kindnes, offred vs little pieces of bread and small handfulls of beanes or wheat, for a hatchet or a piece of copper: In like man[n]er I entertained their kindnes, and in like scorne offered them like commodities, but the Children, or any that shewed extraordinary kindnes, I liberally contented with free gifte [of] such trifles as wel contented them. [*Pp.* 96, 393.]

Finding this colde comfort, I anchored before the Towne, and the next day returned to trade, but God (the absolute

[1607] disposer of all heartes) altered their conceits, for now they were no lesse desirous of our commodities then we of their Corne: vnder colour to fetch fresh water, I sent a man to discouer the Towne, their Corne, and force, to trie their intent, in that they desired me vp to their houses: which well vnderstanding, with foure shot I visited them. With fish, oysters, bread, and deere, they kindly traded with me and my men, beeing no lesse in doubt of my intent, then I of theirs; for well I might with twentie men haue fraighted a Shippe with Corne: The Towne conteineth eighteene houses, pleasantly seated vpon three acres of ground, vppon a plaine, halfe inuironed with a great Bay of the great Riuer, the other parte with a Baye of the other Riuer falling into the great Baye, with a little Ile fit for a Castle in the mouth thereof, the Towne adioyning to the maine by a necke of Land of sixtie yardes.

With sixteene bushells of Corne I returned towards our Forte: by the way I encountred with two Canowes of Indians, who came aboord me, being the inhabitants of [*pp.* 96, 393.] *waroskoyack*, a kingdome on the south side of the riuer, which is in breadth 5. miles and 20 mile or neare from the mouth: With these I traded, who hauing but their hunting prouision, requested me to returne to their Towne, where I should load my boat with corne: and with near thirtie bushells I returned to the fort, the very name wherof gaue great comfort to our despa[i]ring company:

Time thus passing away, and hauing not aboue 14. daies victuals left, some motions were made about our [*pp.* 97, 394.] presidents [*Captaine Ratcliffe's*] and Captaine *Archers* going for England, to procure a supply: in which meane time we had reasonably fitted vs with houses. And our President and Captaine *Martin* being able to walk abroad, with much adoe it was concluded, that the pinnace and barge should goe towards *Powhatan*, to trade for corne:

Lotts were cast who should go in her, the chance was mine; and while she was a rigging, I made a voiage to *Topohanack*, where arriuing, there was but certain women and children who fled from their houses, yet at last I drew them to draw neere; truck they durst not, corne they had plenty, and to spoile I had no commission:

In my returne to [*at*] *Paspahegh*, I traded with that churlish and trecherous nation: hauing loaded 10 or 12 bushels of corne, they offred to take our pieces and swords, yet by stelth, but [we] seeming to dislike it, they were ready to assault vs: yet standing vpon our guard, in coasting the shore, diuers out of the woods would meet with vs with corn and trade. But least we should be constrained, either to indure ouermuch wrong or directly [to] fal to reuenge, seeing them dog vs from place to place, it being night, and our necessitie not fit for warres, we tooke occasion to returne with 10 bushells of corne: [1607]

Captaine *Martin* after made 2 iournies to that nation of *Paspahegh*, but eache time returned with 8. or 10. bushells. [See p. 107.]

All things being now ready for my iourney to *Powhatan*, for the performance thereof, I had 8. men and my selfe for the barge, as well for discouerie as trading; [and in] the Pinnace, 5. Marriners, and 2. landmen to take in our ladings at conuenient places.

The 9 of Nouember I set forward for the discouery of the country of *Chik[a]hamania*, leauing the pinnace the next tide to followe, and stay for my comming at *Point weanock*, 20 miles from our fort: the mouth of this riuer falleth into the great riuer at *Paspahegh*, 8 miles aboue our fort:

That afternoone I stayed the eb[b] in the bay of *Paspahegh* with the Indians: towards the euening certaine Indians ha[i]led me, one of them being of *Chikahamania*, offred to conduct me to his country, the *Paspahegheans* grudged therat: along we went by moonelight; at midnight he brought vs before his Towne, desiring one of our men to go vp with him, whom he kindely intertained, and returned back to the barge:

The next morning I went vp to the towne, and shewed them what copper and hatchets they sho[u]ld haue for corne, each family seeking to giue me most content: so long they caused me to stay that 100 at least was expecting my comming by the riuer, with corne. What I liked, I bought; and least they should perceiue my too great want, I went higher vp the riuer:

This place is called *Manosquosick*, a quarter of a mile

[1607] from the riuer, conteining thirtie or fortie houses, vppon an exceeding high land: at the foote of the hill towards the river, is a plaine wood, watered with many springes, which fall twentie yardes right downe into the riuer. Right against the same is a great marsh, of 4. or 5. miles circuit, deuided in 2 Ilands, by the parting of the riuer, abounding with fish and foule of all sorts:

A mile from thence is a Towne called *Oraniocke*. I further discouered the Townes of *Mansa*, *Apanaock*, *Werawahone*, and *Mamanahunt*, [was] at eche place kindely vsed: especially at the last, being the hart of the Country; where were assembled 200. people with such aboundance of corne, as hauing laded our barge, as also I might haue laded a ship.

I returned to *Paspahhegh*, and considering the want of Corne at our Fort, it being night, with the ebb, by midnight I ariued at our fort, where I found our Pinn[a]is run aground:

The next morning I vnladed seauen hogsheds into our store.

The next morning I returned againe: the second day I ariued at *Mamanahunt*, wher[e] the people hauing heard of my comming, were ready with 3 or 400. baskets litle and great, of which hauing laded my barge, with many signes of great kindnes I returned:

At my departure they requested me to hear our pieces, being in the midst of the riuer; which in regard of the eccho seemed a peale of ordnance. Many birds and fowles they see vs dayly kil that much feared them. So desirous of trade wer[e] they, that they would follow me with their canowes; and for any thing, giue it me, rather then returne it back. So I vnladed again 7 or 8. hogsheads at our fort.

Hauing thus by Gods assistance gotten good store of corne, notwithstanding some bad spirits not content with Gods prouidence, still grew mutinous; in so much, that our president hauing occasion to chide the smith [*James Read, the Blacksmith*] for his misdeamenour, he not only gaue him bad language, but also offred to strike him with some of his tooles. For which rebellious act, the smith was by a Iury condemned to be hanged, but being vppon

the ladder, continuing very obstinate as hoping vpon a rescue, when he saw no other way but death with him, he became penitent, and declared a dangerous conspiracy: for which, Captaine *Kendall*, as principal, was by a Iury condemned, and shot to death. [1607] [p. 97.]

This conspiracy appeased, I set forward for the discouery of the Riuer [of] *Checka Hamania*. This third time I discouered the Townes of *Matapamient*, *Morinogh*, *Ascacap*, *moysenock*, *Righkahauck*, *Nechanichock*, *Mattalunt*, *Attamuspincke*, and diuers others: their plenty of corne I found decreased, yet lading the barge, I returned to our fort.

Our store being now indifferently wel prouided with corne, there was much adoe for to haue the pinace goe for England, against which Captain *Martin* and my selfe stood chiefly against it: and in fine after many debatings *pro et contra*, it was resolued to stay a further resolution:

This matter also quieted, I set forward to finish this discouery, which as yet I had neglected in regard of the necessitie we had to take in prouision whilst it was to be had. 40. miles I passed vp the riuer, which for the most part is a quarter of a mile broad, and 3. fatham and a half deep, exceedy o[o]sey, many great low marshes, and many high lands, especially about the midst at a place called *Moysonicke*, a *Peninsule* of 4. miles ci[r]cuit, betwixt two riuers ioyned to the main by a neck of 40. or 50. yards, and 40. or 50 yards from the high water marke: On both sides in the very necke of the maine, are high hills and dales, yet much inhabited, the Ile declining in a plaine fertile corne field, the lower end a low marsh. More plentie of swannes, cranes, geese, duckes, and mallards, and diuers sorts of fowles, none would desire: more plaine fertile planted ground, in such great proportions as there, I had not seene; of a light blacke sandy mould, the cliffes commonly red, white, and yellowe coloured sand, and vnder, red and white clay; fish [in] great plenty, and people [in] aboundance: the most of their inhabitants, in view of the neck of Land, where a better seat for a towne cannot be desired:

[1607] At the end of forty miles, this riuer inuironeth many low Ilands at each high water drowned, for a mile, where it vniteth it selfe at a place called *Apokant*, the highest Towne inhabited.

10. miles higher, I discouered with the barge: in the mid way, a greate tree hindered my passage, which I cut in two. Heere the riuer became narrower, 8. 9 or 10. foote at a high water, and 6. or 7. at a lowe: the streame exceeding swift, and the bottom hard channell: the ground, most part a low plaine, sandy soyle. This occasioned me to suppose it might issue from some lake or some broad ford, for it could not be far to the head, but rather then I would endanger the barge [*i.e., by going up with it further*]. Yet to haue beene able to resolue this doubt, and to discharge the imputation[s] of malicious tung[e]s, that halfe suspected I durst not, for so long delaying: some of the company as desirous as my self, we resolued to hier a Canow, and returne with the barge to *Apocant*, there to leaue the barge secure, and put our selues upon the aduenture: the country onely a vast and wilde wildernes, and but onely that Towne:

Within three or foure mile, we hired a Canow, and 2. Indians to row vs the next day a fowling. Hauing made such prouision for the barge as was needfull, I left her there [*at Apocant*] to ride, with expresse charge not any [one] to go ashore til my returne.

Though some wise men may condemn this too bould attempt of too much indiscretion, yet if they well consider the friendship of the Indians in conducting me, the desolateness of the country, the probabilitie of some lacke [*i.e., lake*], and the malicious iudges of my actions at home [*i.e., James Town*], as also to haue some matters of worth to incourage our aduenturers in england, [these] might well haue caused any honest minde to haue done the like, as well for his own discharge as for the publike good:

[*p.* 98.] Hauing 2 Indians for my guide and 2 of our own company, I set forward, leauing 7 in the barge:

Hauing discouered 20 miles further in this desart, the riuer stil kept his depth and bredth, but [was] much more combred with trees:

Here we went ashore (being some 12 miles higher then

the barge had bene) to refresh our selues, during the boyling of our vi[c]tuals: One of the Indians I tooke with me, to see the nature of the soile, and to crosse the boughts [*windings*] of the riuer: the other Indian I left with Maister *Robbinson* and *Thomas Emry*, with their matches light[ed], and order to discharge a peece, for my retreat, at the first sight of any Indian. [1607] [*pp.* 16, 395, 396, 401.]

But within a quarter of an houre I heard a loud cry, and a hollowing of Indians, but no warning peece. Supposing them surprised, and that the Indians had betrai[e]d vs, presently I seazed him and bound his arme fast to my hand in a garter, with my pistoll ready bent to be reuenged on him: he aduised me to fly, and seemed ignorant of what was done.

But as we went discoursing, I was struck with an arrow on the right thigh, but without harme: vpon this occasion I espied 2. Indians drawing their bowes, which I preuented in discharging a french pistoll:

By that I had charged againe, 3 or 4 more did the like: for the first fell downe and fled: At my discharge, they did the like. My hinde [*Indian*] I made my barricado, who offered not to striue. 20. or 30. arrowes were shot at me but short. 3 or 4 times I had discharged my pistoll ere the king of *Pamaunck* called *Opeckankenough* with 200 men, inuironed me, eache drawing their bowe: which done they laid them [*themselves*] vpon the ground, yet without shot [*shooting*]:

My hinde treated betwixt them and me of conditions of peace; he discouered me to be the Captaine: my request was to retire to the boate: they demaunded my armes, the rest they saide were slaine, onely me they would reserue:

The Indian importuned me not to shoot. In retiring being in the midst of a low quagmire, and minding them more then my steps, I stept fast into the quagmire, and also the Indian in drawing me forth:

Thus surprised, I resolued to trie their mercies: my armes I caste from me, till which none durst approch me.

Being ceazed on me, they drew me out and led me to the King. I presented him with a compasse diall, describing by my best meanes the vse therof: whereat he so amazedly admired, as he suffered me to proceed in a discourse of the roundnes of the earth, the course of the sunne, moone, starres and plannets. [*p.* 396.]

[1607] With kinde speeches and bread he requited me, conducting me where the Canow lay and *Iohn Robbinson* slaine, with 20 or 30. arrowes in him. *Emry* I saw not.

[*pp.* 15, 395, 396, 401.]

I perceiued by the aboundance of fires all ouer the woods [*the sense requires here*, that they were a party hunting deer, *see pp.* 37 *and* 70.] At each place I expected when they would execute me, yet they vsed me with what kindnes they could:

Approaching their Towne [*Rasawrack*], which was within 6 miles where I was taken, onely made as arbors and couered with mats, which they remoue as occasion requires: all the women and children, being aduertised of this accident, came foorth to meet them, the King [*Opechancanough*] well guarded with 20 bowmen 5 flanck and rear, and each flanck before him a sword and a peece, and after him the like, then a bowman, then I on each hand a boweman, the rest in file in the reare, which reare led foorth amongst the trees in a bishion, eache his bowe and a handfull of arrowes, a quiuer at his back grimly painted: on eache flanck a sargeant, the one running alwaies towards the front, the other towards the reare, each a true pace and in exceeding good order.

This being a good time continued, they caste themselues in a ring with a daunce, and so eache man departed to his lodging.

The Captain conducting me to his lodging, a quarter of Venison and some ten pound of bread I had for supper: what I left was reserued for me, and sent with me to my lodging:

Each morning 3. women presented me three great platters of fine bread, more venison then ten men could deuour I had: my gowne, points and garters, my compas and my tablet they gaue me again. Though 8 ordinarily guarded me, I wanted not what they could deuise to content me: and still our longer acquaintance increased our better affection:

Much they threatned to assault our forte, as they were solicited by the King of *Paspahegh* [*then present, see p.* 152]: who shewed at our fort great signes of sorrow for this mischance [*i.e., Smith's capture*]. The King [*Opechancanough*] tooke great delight in vnderstanding the manner of our ships, and sayling the seas, the earth and skies, and of our God: what he knew of the dominions he spared not to

[*p.* 396.]

acquaint me with, as of certaine men cloathed at a place called *Ocanahonan*, cloathed like me: the course of our riuer, and that within 4 or 5 daies iourney of the falles, was a great turning of salt water: [1607]

I desired he would send a messenger to *Paspahegh* [*the district in which James Town was situated*], with a letter I would write, by which they shold vnderstand how kindly they vsed me, and that I was well, least they should reuenge my death. This he granted and sent three men, in such weather as in reason were vnpossible by any naked to be indured. Their cruell mindes towards the fort I had deuerted, in describing the ordinance and the mines in the fields, as also the reuenge Captain *Newport* would take of them at his returne. Their intent, I incerted the fort, [as also of] the people of *Ocanahonum* and the back sea: this report they after found diuers Indians that confirmed: [*p.* 397.]

The next day after my letter, came a saluage to my lodging [*still at Rasawrack*], with his sword, to haue slaine me: but being by my guard intercepted, with a bowe and arrow he offred to haue effected his purpose: the cause I knew not, till the King vnderstanding thereof came and told me of a man a dying, wounded with my pistoll: he tould me also of another I had slayne, yet the most concealed they had any hurte: This was the father of him I had slayne, whose fury to preuent, the King presently conducted me to another Kingdome, vpon the top of the next northerly riuer, called *Youghtanan*. [*p.* 397.]

Hauing feasted me, he further led me to another branch of the riuer, called *Mattapament*; to two other hunting townes they led me: and to each of these Countries, a house of the great Emperour of *Pewhakan*, whom as yet I supposed to bee at the *Fal*[*l*]*s*; to him I tolde him I must goe, and so returne to *Paspahegh*. [*p.* 398.]

After this foure or fiue dayes marsh [*march*], we returned to *Rasawrack*, the first towne they brought me too [*see p.* 142]: where binding the Mats in bundels, they marched two dayes iourney, and crossed the Riuer of *Youghtanan*, where it was as broad as *Thames:* so conducting me to a place called *Menapacute* in *Pamaunke*, where the King inhabited.

The next day another King of that nation called *Kekataugh*, hauing receiued some kindnes of me at the Fort,

[1608] kindly inuited me to feast at his house, the people from all places flocked to see me, each shewing to content me.

By this, the great King hath foure or fiue houses, each containing fourescore or an hundred foote in length, pleasantly seated vpon an high sandy hill, from whence you may see westerly a goodly low Country, the riuer before the which his crooked course causeth many great Marshes of exceeding good ground. An hundred houses, and many large plaines are here togither inhabited. More abundance of fish and fowle, and a pleasanter seat cannot be imagined. The King with fortie Bowmen to guard me, intreated me to discharge my Pistoll, which they there presented me, with a mark at six score [yards] to strike therwith: but to spoil the practise, I broke the cocke, whereat they were much discontented, though a chaunce supposed.

From hence, this kind King conducted mee to a place called *Topahanocke*, a kingdome vpon another Riuer northward: The cause of this was, that the yeare before, a shippe had beene in the Riuer of *Pamaunke*, who hauing beene kindly entertained by *Powhatan* their Emperour, they returned thence, and discouered the Riuer of *Topahanocke*: where being receiued with like kindnesse, yet he slue the King, and tooke of his people, and they supposed I were hee. But the people reported him [to be] a great [*tall*] man that was [the] Captaine, and vsing mee kindly, the next day we departed.

This Riuer of *Topahanock* seemeth in breadth not much lesse then that we dwell vpon. At the mouth of the Riuer is a Countrey called *Cuttata women*: vpwards is *Marraugh tacum*, *Tapohanock*, *Appamatuck*, and *Nantaugs tacum*: at *Topmanahocks*, the head issuing from many Mountaines.

The next night I lodged at a hunting town of *Powhatams*, and the next day arriued at *Waranacomoco* vpon the riuer of *Pamauncke*, where the great king is resident. By the way we passed by the top of another little riuer, which is betwixt the two, called *Payankatank*. The most of this Country [is] th[r]ough Desert, yet exceeding fertil; good timber, most[ly] hils and dales, in each valley a cristall spring.

(p. 399.) Arriuing at *Weramocomoco* [*?on or about* 5 *January* 1608], their Emperour proudly lying vppon a Bedstead a foote

high, vpon tenne or twelue Mattes, richly hung with manie Chaynes of great Pearles about his necke, and couered with a great Couering of *Rahaughcums*. At [his] heade sat a woman, at his feete another; on each side sitting vppon a Matte vppon the ground, were raunged his chiefe men on each side the fire, tenne in a ranke, and behinde them as many yong women, each [with] a great Chaine of white Beades ouer their shoulders, their heades painted in redde: and [*Powhatan*] with such a graue and Maiesticall countenance, as draue me into admiration to see such state in a naked Saluage. [1608] [p. 400.]

Hee kindly welcomed me with good wordes, and great Platters of sundrie Victuals, assuring mee his friendship, and my libertie within foure days. Hee much delighted in *Opechan Comoughs* relation of what I had described to him, and oft examined me vpon the same.

Hee asked mee the cause of our comming.

I tolde him being in fight with the Spaniards our enemie, beeing ouerpow[e]red, neare put to retreat, and by extreame weather put to this shore: where landing at *Chesipiack*, the people shot [at] vs, but at *Kequoughtan* they kindly vsed vs: we by signes demaunded fresh water, they described vs vp the Riuer was all fresh water: at *Paspahegh* also they kindly vsed vs: our Pinn[a]sse being leak[i]e, we were inforced to stay to mend her, till Captaine *Newport* my father came to conduct vs away.

He demaunded why we went further with our Boate. I tolde him, in that I would haue occasion to talke of the backe Sea, that on the other side the maine, where was salt water. My father [*i.e.*, *Newport*] had a childe slaine, whiche wee supposed *Monocan* his enemie [had done]: whose death we intended to reuenge.

After good deliberation, hee began to describe [to] mee the Countreys beyonde the Falles, with many of the rest; confirming what not onely *Opechancanoyes*, and an *Indian* which had beene prisoner to *Pewhatan* had before tolde mee: but some called it fiue dayes, some sixe, some eight, where the sayde water dashed amongest many stones and rockes, each storm; which caused oft tymes the heade of the Riuer to bee brackish:

Anchanachuck he described to bee the people that had

[1608] slaine my brother: whose death hee would reuenge. Hee described also vpon the same Sea, a mighty Nation called *Pocoughtronack*, a fierce Nation that did eate men, and warred with the people of *Moyaoncer* and *Pataromerke*, Nations vpon the toppe of the heade of the Bay, vnder his territories: where the yeare before they had slain an hundred. He signified their crownes were shauen, long haire in the necke, tied on a knot, Swords like Pollaxes.

Beyond them, he described people with short Coates, and Sleeues to the Elbowes, that passed that way in Shippes like ours. Many Kingdomes hee described [to] mee, to the heade of the Bay, which seemed to bee a mightie Riuer issuing from mightie Mountaines betwixt the two Seas: The people cloathed at *Ocamahowan*, he also confirmed; and the Southerly Countries also, as the rest that reported vs to be within a day and a halfe of *Mangoge*, two dayes of *Chawwonock*, 6. from *Roonock*, to the south part of the backe sea: He described a countrie called *Anone*, where they haue abundance of Brasse, and houses walled as ours.

I requited his discourse (seeing what pride hee had in his great and spacious Dominions, seeing that all hee knewe were vnder his Territories) in describing to him, the territories of *Europe*, which was subiect to our great King whose subject I was, the innumerable multitude of his ships, I gaue him to vnderstand the noyse of Trumpets, and terrible manner of fighting [that] were vnder captain *Newport* my father: whom I intituled the *Meworames*, which they call the King of all the waters. At his greatnesse, he admired: and not a little feared. He desired mee [*i.e.*, *the English*] to forsake *Paspahegh* [*i.e.*, *James Town*], and to [*p.* 401.] liue with him vpon his Riuer, a Countrie called *Capa Howasicke*. Hee promised to giue me Corne, Venison, or what I wanted to feede vs: Hatchets and Copper wee should make him, and none should disturbe vs.

This request I promised to performe: and thus, hauing with all the kindnes hee could deuise, sought to content me, hee sent me home, with 4. men: one that vsually carried my Gowne and Knapsacke after me, two other loded with bread, and one to accompanie me.

This Riuer of *Pamaunke* is not past twelue mile from

that we dwell on, his course northwest and westerly as the other. *Weraocomoco* is vpon salt water in bredth two myles, and so [the river] keepeth his course without any tarrying some twenty miles; where at the parting of the fresh water and the salt, it diuideth it selfe into two partes, the one part to *Goughland*, as broad as *Thames*, and nauigable with a Boate threescore or fourescore miles, and with a Shippe fiftie: exceeding[ly] crooked, and manie low grounds and marishes, but inhabited with aboundance of warlike and tall people. The Countrey of *Youghtomam*, of no lesse worth, onely it is lower; but all the soyle, a fatte, fertill, sandie ground. Aboue *Manapacumter*, many high sandie mountaines. By the Riuer is many Rockes, seeming, if not, of seuerall Mines. [1608]

The other branch a little lesse in breadth, yet extendeth not neare so farre, nor so well inhabited, somewhat lower, and a white sandie, and a white clay soyle: here is their best *Terra Sigillata*. The mouth of the Riuer, as I see [? *saw, see p.* 6] in the discouerie therof with *captain Newport*, is halfe a mile broad, and within foure miles not aboue a Musket shot: the channell exceeding good and deepe, the Riuer straight to the deuisions. *Kiskirk* [is] the nearest Nation to the entrances.

Their religion and Ceremonie I obserued was thus: Three or foure dayes [*which would be at Rasawrack; but stated at p.* 398 *to have been at Pamaunkey*] after my taking, seuen of them in the house where I lay, each with a rattle, began at ten a clocke in the morning to sing about the fire, which they inuironed with a Circle of meale, and after a foote or two from that, at the end of each song, layde downe two or three graines of wheate: continuing this order till they haue included sixe or seuen hundred in a halfe Circle; and after that, two or three more Circles in like maner, a hand bredth from other. That done, at each song, they put betwixt euerie three, two, or fiue graines, a little sticke; so counting as an old woman her *Pater noster*.

One disguised with a great Skinne, his head hung round with little Skinnes of Weasels and other vermine, with a Crownet of feathers on his head, painted as vgly as the diuell, at the end of each song will make many signes and

[1608] demonstrations, with strange and vehement actions. great cakes of Deere suet, Deare, and Tobacco he casteth in the fire: till sixe a clocke in the Euening, their howling would continue ere they would depart.

Each morning in the coldest frost, the principall, to the number of twentie or thirtie, assembled themselues in a round circle, a good distance from the towne: where they told me they there consulted where to hunt the next day:

So fat they fed mee, that I much doubted they intended to haue sacrificed mee to the *Quiyoughquosicke*, which is a superiour power they worship: a more uglier thing cannot be described. One they haue for chief sacrifices, which also they call *Quiyoughquosick*. To cure the sick, a man, with a Rattle, and extreame howling, showting, singing, and such violent gestures and Anticke actions ouer the patient, will sucke out blood and flegme from the patient, out of their vnable stomacke, or any diseased place, as no labour will more tire them.

Tobacco, they offer the water in passing in fowle weather. The death of any they lament with great sorrow and weeping. Their Kings they burie betwixt two mattes within their houses, with all his beads, iewels, hatchets, and copper: the other in graues like ours. They acknowledge no resurrection.

Powhatan hath three brethren, and two sisters, each of his brethren succeeded [*succeedeth or will succeed*] other. For the Crowne, their heyres inherite not, but the first heyres of the Sisters, and so successiuely the weomens heires. For the Kings haue as many weomen as they will, his Subiects two, and most but one.

From *Weramocomoco* is but 12. miles, yet the *Indians* [*p.* 401.] trifled away that day [7 *Jan.* 1608], and would not goe to our Forte by any perswasions: but in certaine olde hunting houses of *Paspahegh* we lodged all night.

The next morning [8 *Jan.* 1608] ere Sunne rise, we set [*pp.* 98, 401.] forward for our Fort, where we arriued within an houre: where each man with the truest signes of ioy they could expresse welcommed me, except *Maister Archer*, and some 2. or 3. of his, who was then in my absence, sworne Counsellour, though not with the consent of Captaine *Martin*:

Great blame and imputation was laide vpon mee by them [*Archer, &c.*], for the losse of our two men which the *Indians* slew: insomuch that they purposed to depose me. But in the midst of my miseries, it pleased God to send *Captaine Nuport*: who arriuing there the same night [8 *Jan.* 1608], so tripled our joy as for a while these plots against me were deferred; though with much malice against me, which captain *Newport* in short time did plainly see. Now was maister *Scriuener*, captaine *Martin*, and my selfe, called Counsellers [*i.e., to the exclusion of Archer*]. [1608] [*pp.*100, 403.]

Within fiue or sixe dayes after the arriuall of the Ship [13 *or* 14 *January* 1608], by a mischaunce our Fort was burned, and the most of our apparell, lodging and priuate prouision. Many of our old men [became] diseased, and [many] of our new for want of lodging perished.

The Empereur *Powhatan*, each weeke once or twice, sent me many presents of Deare, bread, *Raugroughcuns*; halfe alwayes for my father [*Captaine Newport*] whom he much desired to see, and halfe for me: and so continually importuned by messengers and presents, that I would come to fetch the corne, and take the Countrie their King had giuen me, as at last Captaine *Newport* resolued to go [to] see him. [*pp.*101, 404.]

Such acquaintance I had amongst the *Indians*, and such confidence they had in me, as neare the Fort they would not come till I came to them; euery of them calling me by my name, would not sell any thing till I had first receiued their presents, and what they had that I liked, they deferred to my discretion: but after acquaintance, they vsually came into the Fort at their pleasure: The President and the rest of the Councell, they knewe not; but Captaine *Newports* greatnesse I had so described, as they conceyued him the chiefe, the rest his children, Officers, and seruants.

We had agreed with the king of *Paspahegh*, to conduct two of our men to a place called *Panawicke* beyond *Roonok*, where he reported many men to be apparelled. Wee landed him at *Warraskoyack*, where [he] playing the villaine, and deluding vs for rewards, returned within three or foure dayes after, without going further.

Captaine *Newport*, maister *Scriuener*, and my selfe, found the mouth of *Pamauncks* riuer, some 25. or 30. miles

[1608] north ward from Cape *Henrick* [*Henry*], the chanell good as before expressed.

[*pp.* 101, 404.] Arriuing at *Weramocomoca*, being iealous of the intent of this politick saluage; to discouer his intent the better, I with 20. shot armed in Jacks, went a shore. The Bay where he dwelleth hath in it 3. cricks, and a mile and a halfe from the chanel all os [*in Grenville copy* ost: *what is meant is* oose]. Being conducted to the towne, I found my selfe mistaken in the creeke, for they al there were within lesse then a mile: the Emperors sonne called *Naukaquawis*, the captaine that tooke me [*pp.* 15,152], and diuerse others of his chiefe men, conducted me to their kings habitation. But in the mid way I was intercepted by a great creek ouer which they had made a bridge of grained stakes and railes. The king of *Kiskieck*, and *Namontack*, who all the iourney, the king had sent to guide vs, had conducted vs [to] this passage, which caused me to suspect some mischiefe: the barge I had sent to meet me at the right landing, when I found my selfe first deceyued. And knowing by experience the most of their courages to proceede from others feare, though fewe lyked the passage, I intermingled the Kings sonne, our conductors, and his chiefe men amongst ours, and led forward, leauing halfe at the one ende to make a guard for the passage of the Front. The *Indians* seeing the weakenesse of the Bridge, came with a Canow, and tooke me in [*out*] of the middest, with foure or fiue more: being landed, wee made a guard for the rest till all were passed.

Two in a ranke we marched to the Emperors house. Before his house stood fortie or fiftie great Platters of fine bread. Being entred the house, with loude tunes they all made signes of great ioy. This proude saluage, hauing his finest women, and the principall of his chiefe men assembled, sate in rankes as before is expressed: himself as vpon a Throne at the vpper ende of the house, with such a Maiestie as I cannot expresse, nor yet haue often seene, either in Pagan or Christian. With a kinde countenance hee bad mee welcome, and caused a place to bee made by himselfe [for me] to sit.

I presented him a sute of red cloath, a white Greyhound, and a Hatte: as Iewels he esteemed them, and with a great Oration made by three of his Nobles, if there

be any amongst Saluages, kindly accepted them, with a publike confirmation of a perpetuall league and friendship. [1608]

After that, he commanded the Queene of *Apamatuc*, a comely yong Saluage, to giue me water, a Turkie cocke, and breade to eate : [*p.* 400.]

Being thus feasted, hee began his discourse to this purpose. Your kinde visitation doth much content mee, but where is your father whom I much desire to see, is he not with you. [*pp.* 102, 405.]

I told him, he remained aboord, but the next day he would come vnto him.

With a merrie countenance he asked me for certaine peeces which I promised him, when I went to *Paspahegh*.

I told [him] according to my promise, that I proferred the man that went with me foure Demy Culuerings, in that he so desired a great Gunne : but they refused to take them.

Whereat with a lowde laughter, he desired to giue him some of lesse burden : as for the other I gaue him them, being sure that none could carrie them. But where are these men you promised to come with you.

I told him, without. Who therevpon gaue order to haue them brought in, two after two, euer maintaining the guard without. And as they presented themselues, euer with thankes he would salute me : and caused each of them to haue foure or fiue pound of bread giuen them.

This done, I asked him for the corne and ground [*district*] he promised me.

He told me I should haue it : but he expected to haue all these men lay their armes at his feet, as did his subjects.

I tolde him that was a ceremonie our enemies desired, but neuer our Friends, as we presented ourselues vnto him ; yet that he should not doubt of our friendship. The next day my Father would giue him a child of his, in full assurance of our loues, and not only that, but when he should thinke it conuenient,wee would deliuer vnder his subiection the Country of *Manacam* and *Pocoughtaonack* his enemies.

This so contented him, as immediatly with attentiue silence, with a lowd oration he proclaimed me *Awerowanes* [*i.e., a Werowance*, or subordinate Chief] of *Powhaton*, and

[1608] that all his subjects should so esteeme vs, and no man account vs strangers nor Paspaheghans, but Powhatans, and that the Corne, weomen and Country, should be to vs as to his owne people. This proffered kindnes for many reasons we contemned not, but with the best Languages and signes of thankes I could expresse, I tooke my leaue.

The King rising from his seat, conducted me foorth, and caused each of my men to haue as much more bread as hee could beare: giuing me some in a basket, and as much he sent a board for a present to my Father. Victuals you must know is all the[i]re wealth, and the greatest kindnes they could shew vs.

Arriuing at the Riuer, the Barge was fallen so low [*i.e., down the river*] with the ebbe, though I had giuen order and oft sent to preuent the same, yet the messengers deceiued mee. The Skies being very thicke and rainie, the King vnderstanding this mischance, sent his Sonne and *Mamontacke*, to conduct mee to a great house sufficient to lodge mee: where entring I saw it hung round with bowes and arrowes.

The Indians vsed all diligence to make vs fires, and giue vs content: the kings Orators presently entertained vs with a kinde oration, with expresse charge that not any should steale, or take our bowes or arrowes, or offer any injury.

Presently after he sent me a quarter of Venizon to stay my stomacke:

In the euening hee sent for mee to come onely with two shot with me. The company I gaue order to stand vpon their guard, and to maintaine two sentries at the ports all night.

To my supper he set before me meate for twenty men, and seeing I could not eate, hee caused it to be giuen to my men: for this is a generall custome, that what they giue, not to take againe, but you must either eate it, giue it away, or carry it with you. Two or three houres we spent in our aun[ci]ent discourses; which done, I was with a fire stick lighted to my lodging.

The next day the King conducting mee to the Riuer, shewed me his Canowes, and described vnto me how hee sent them ouer the Baye, for tribute Beades: and also what Countries paid him Beads, Copper, or Skins.

But seeing Captaine *Nuport*, and Maister *Scriuener*, comming a shore, the King returned to his house, and I went to meete him [*Newport*]. With a trumpet before him, wee marched to the King: who after his old manner kindly receiued him, especially a Boy of thirteen yeares old, called *Thomas Saluage*, whom he gaue him as his Sonne. He requited this kindnes with each of vs a great basket of Beanes. And entertaining him with the former discourse, we passed away that day, and agreed to bargaine the next day, and so returned to our Pinnis. [1608] [*pp.*102, 405.

The next day comming a shore in like order, the King hauing kindly entertained vs with a breakfast, questioned vs in this manner: Why we came armed in that sort, seeing hee was our friend, and had neither bowes nor arrowes; what did wee doubt?

I told him it was the custome of our Country, not doubting of his kindnes any waies: wherewith though hee seemed satisfied, yet Captaine *Nuport* caused all our men to retire to the water side, which was some thirtie score [yards] from thence.

But to preuent the worst, Maister *Scriuener* or I were either the one or other by the Barge: experience had well taught me to beleeue his friendship till conuenient opportunity suffred him to betray vs. But quickly this polititian had perceiued my absence, and cunningly sent for me; I sent for Maister *Scriuener* to supply my place: the King would demand for him, I would againe releeue him. And they sought to satisfie our suspition with kind Language: and not being agreed to trade for corne, hee desired to see all our Hatchets and Copper together, for which he would giue vs corne. With that auncient tricke the *Chickahamaniens* had oft acquainted me: his offer I refused, offering first to see what hee would giue for one piece. Hee seeming to despise the nature of a Merchant, did scorne to sell: but we freely should giue him, and he liberally would requite vs. [*pp.*102, 406.]

Captain *Nuport* would not with lesse then twelue great Coppers try his kindnes, which he liberally requited with as much corne as at *Chickahamania*, I had for one of lesse proportion. Our Hatchets hee would also haue at his owne rate: for which kindnes hee much seemed to

[1608] affect Captaine *Nuport*. Some few bunches of blew
[*pp.* 103, 406.] Beades I had, which he much desired, and seeing so few, he offred me a basket of two pecks, and that I drew to be three pecks at the least, and yet [he] seemed contented and desired more. I agreed with him, the next day, for two bushells: for the ebbe now constrained vs to returne to our Boate, although he earnestly desired vs to stay dinner which was a prouiding; and [which] being ready he sent aboard after vs, which was bread and venizon sufficient for fiftie or sixtie persons.

The next day hee sent his Sonne in the morning, not to bring a shore with vs any pieces, least his weomen and children should feare. Captaine *Nuports* good beliefe would haue satisfied that request. Yet twentie or twentie fiue short we got a shore: the King importuning mee to leaue my armes a board, much misliking my sword pistol and target. I told him the men that slew my Brother [*see p.* 19] with the like tearmes had perswaded me, and being vnarmed shot at vs, and so betraide vs.

He oft entreated Captaine *Nuport* that his men might leaue their armes: which [men] still hee [*Newport*] commanded to the water side.

This day we spent in trading for blew Beads: and hauing neare fraighted our Barge, Captaine *Nuport* returned with them that came abord, leauing me and Maister *Scriuener* a shore, to follow in Canowes. Into one I got with sixe of our men, which beeing la[u]nched, a stones cast from the shore stuck fast in the O[o]se.

Master *Scriuener* seeing this example, with seuen or eight more passed the dreadfull bridge, thinking to haue found deeper water on the other creeke: but they were inforced to stay, with such entertainment as a saluage [could afford; who] being forced ashore with wind and raine, hauing in his Canow, as commonly they haue, his house and houshold, instantly set vp a house of mats, which succoured them from the storme.

The Indians seeing me pestred in the O[o]se, called to me: six or seuen of the Kings chiefe men threw off their skins, and to the middle in O[o]se, came to bear me out on their heads. Their importunacie caused me better to

like the Canow than their curtesie, excusing my deniall for feare to fall into the O[o]se: desiring them to bring me some wood, fire, and mats to couer me, and I would content them. Each presently gaue his helpe to satisfie my request, which paines a horse would scarce haue indured: yet a couple of bells richly contented them. [1608]

The Emperor sent his Seaman *Mantiuas* in the euening with bread and victuall for me and my men: he no more scrupulous then the rest seemed to take a pride in shewing how litle he regarded that miserable cold and durty passage, though a dogge would scarce haue indured it. This kindnes I found, when I litle expected lesse then a mischiefe: but the blacke night parting our companies, ere midnight the flood serued to carry vs aboard [*i.e., the Barge*].

The next day we came ashore, the King [spoke] with a solemne discourse, causing all to depart but his principall men: and this was the effect.

When as hee perceiued that we had a desire to inuade *Monacum*, against whom he was no professed enemy: yet thus farre he would assist vs in his enterprise.

First hee would send his spies, perfectly to vnderstand their strength and ability to fight, with which he would acquaint vs himselfe. Captaine *Nuport* would not be seene in it himselfe, being great *Werowances*. They [*Powhatan and Newport*] would stay at home: but I, Maister *Scriuener*, and two of his [*Powhatan's*] Sonnes, and *Opechankanough* the King of *Pamaunke* should haue 100. of his men to goe before as though they were hunting; they giuing vs notise where was the aduantage, we should kill them: the weomen and young children he wished we should spare, and bring them to him. Only 100. or 150. of our men he held sufficient for this exploit. Our boats should stay at the falls, where we might hew timber, which we might conuey, each man a piece, till we were past the stones; and there joyne them to passe our men by [*over the*] water. If any were shot, his men should bring them backe to our boats.

This faire tale had almost made Captaine *Nuport* vndertake by this meanes to discouer the South sea: which will not be without trecherie, if wee ground our intent vpon his constancie.

[1608] This day we spent in trading, dancing, and much mirth. The King of *Pamaunke* sent his messenger [to me] (as yet not knowing Captaine *Nuport*) to come vnto him: who had long expected mee, desiring also my Father to visite him. The messenger stayed to conduct vs: but *Powhatan* vnderstanding that we had Hatchets lately come from *Paspahegh*, desired the next day to trade with vs, and not to go further. This new tricke he cunningly put vpon him, but onely to haue what he listed, and to try whether we would go or stay.

Opechankenoughs messenger returned [answer], that wee would not come.

The next day his [*Opechancanough*'s] Daughter came to entreat me, shewing her Father had hurt his legge, and much sorrowed he could not see me.

Captaine *Nuport* being not to bee perswaded to goe, in that *Powhatan* had desired vs to stay: sent her away with the like answer.

Yet the next day, vpon better consideration, intreatie preuailed; and wee anchored at *Cinquoateck*, the first twaine [*town*] aboue the parting of the riuer, where dwelled two Kings of *Pamaunke*, Brothers to *Powhatan*; the one called *Opitchapam*, the other *Katatough*. To these I went a shore, who kindly intreated mee and Maister *Scriuener*, sending some presents aboard to Captaine *Nuport*, whilst we were trucking with these Kings.

Opechankanough his wife, weomen, and children came to meete me: with a naturall kind affection hee seemed to reioyce to see me.

Captaine *Nuport* came a shore, with many kind discourses wee passed that forenoone: and after dinner, Captaine *Nuport* went about with the Pinnis to *Menapacant*, which is twenty miles by water, and not one by land. *Opechankanough* conducted me and Maister *Scriuener* by land: where hauing built a feasting house a purpose to entertaine vs, with a kind Oration, after their manner, and his best prouision, [he] kindly welcomed vs. That day he would not trucke, but did his best to delight vs with content:

Captaine *Nuport* arriued towards euening; whom the King presented with sixe great platters of fine bread, and *Pansarowmana*.

The next day till noone wee traded: the King feasted all the company; and the afternoone was spent in playing, dauncing, and delight. By no meanes hee would haue vs depart till, the next day, he had feasted vs with venizon; for which he had sent, hauing spent his first and second prouision in expecting our comming: [1608]

The next day, he performed his promise, giuing more to vs three, then would haue sufficied 30. and in that we carried not away what we left, hee sent it after vs to the Pinnis. With what words or signes of loue he could expresse, we departed.

Captaine *Nuport* in the Pinnis, leauing mee in the Barge to digge a rocke, where wee supposed a Mine, at *Cinquaoteck*: which done, ere midnight, I arriued at *Weracomoco*, where our Pinnis [had] anchored, being 20. miles from *Cinquaotecke.*

The next day, we tooke leaue of *Powhatan*: who, in regard of his kindness, gaue him an *Indian.* He [was] well affected to goe with him for England in steed of his Sonne [*i.e., T. Salvage, see p. 27*]: the cause, I assure me, was to know our strength and Countries condition:

The next day we arriued at *Kiskiack.* The people [there] so scornefully entertained vs, as with what signes of scorne and discontent we could, we departed: and returned to our Fort with 250. bushells of Corne [*on* 9 *March* 1608]. [*pp.*103, 406.]

Our president, being not wholy recouered of his sicknes, in discharging his Piece, brake and split his hand off, [of] which he is not yet [2 *June* 1608] well recovered.

At Captaine *Nuports* arriuall [9 *March* 1608], wee were victualled for twelue weeks: and hauing furnished him of what hee thought good, hee set saile for England the tenth of April [1608]. Master *Scriuener* and my selfe, with our shallop, accompanied him to Cape *Hendrick* [*i.e., Henry*]: *Powhatan* hauing for a farrewell, sent him fiue or sixe mens loadings, with Turkeys for [the] swords which hee sent him in [*on*] our return to the fort: [*p.* 408.] [*pp.*106, 406.]

We discouered the riuer of *Nausam*[*on*]*d*, a proud warlike Nation, as well we may testifie, [from] at our first arriuall at *Chesiapiack*: but that iniury Captaine *Nuport* well reuenged at his returne. Where some of them intising him to their

[1608] Ambuscadoes by a daunce, hee perceiuing their intent, with a volly of musket shot, slew one, and shot one or two more, as themselues confesse.

The King at our ariuall sent for me to come vnto him. I sent him word what commodities I had to exchange for wheat, and if he would, as had the rest of his Neighbours, conclude a Peace, we were contented.

At last he came downe before the Boate which rid at anchor some fortie yards from the shore. He signified to me to come a shore, and sent a Canow with foure or fiue of his men: two whereof I desired to come aboard and to stay, and I would send two to talke with their King a shore. To this hee agreed. The King wee presented with a piece of Copper, which he kindly excepted [*accepted*], and sent for victualls to entertaine the messengers.

Maister *Scriuener* and my selfe also, after that, went a shore. The King kindly feasted vs, requesting vs to stay to trade till the next day. Which hauing done, we returned to the Fort.

This riuer is a musket shot broad, each side being should bayes; a narrow channell, but three fadom [deep]: his course for eighteene miles, almost directly South, and by West where beginneth the first inhabitants: for a mile it turneth directly East, towards the West, a great bay, and a white chaukie Iland conuenient for a Fort: his next course South, where within a quarter of a mile, the riuer diuideth in two, the neck a plaine high Corne field, the wester bought a highe plaine likewise, the Northeast answerable in all respects. In these plaines are planted aboundance of houses and people; they may containe 1000. Acres of most excellent fertill ground: so sweete, so pleasant, so beautifull, and so strong a prospect, for an inuincible strong City, with so many commodities, that I know as yet I haue not seene.

This is within one daies iourney of *Chawwonocke*, the riuer falleth into the Kings [*i.e.*, *Powhatan's*] riuer, within twelue miles of *Cape-hendicke* [*i.e.*, Cape *Henry*].

At our Fort, the tooles we had, were so ordinarily stolen by the Indians, as necessity inforced vs to correct

their brauing theeuerie: for he that stole to day, durst come againe the next day. One amongst the rest, hauing stolen two swords, I got the Counsels consent to set in the bilboes. The next day, with three more, he came, with their woodden swordes, in the midst of our men to steale. Their custome is to take any thing they can ceaze off: onely the people of *Pamaunke* wee haue not found stealing, but what others can steale, their King receiueth. I bad them depart, but flourishing their swords, they seemed to defend what they could catch but out of our hands: his pride vrged me to turne him from amongst vs, whereat he offred to strike me with his sword; which I preuented, striking him first. The rest off [e]ring to reuenge the blow, receiued such an incounter, and fled. The better to affright them, I pursued them with fiue or sixe shot, and so chased them out of the Iland[, *or rather, the Peninsula on which James Town stood*]. [1608]

The beginner of this broyle, litle expecting by his carriage, [that] we durst haue resisted, hauing, euen till that present, not beene contradicted, especially them of *Paspahegh*: these Indians within one houre, hauing by other Saluages then in the Fort, vnderstood that I threatened to be reuenged, came presently of themselues, and fell to working vpon our wears which were then in hand by other Saluages: who seeing their pride so incountred, were so submissiue, and willing to doe any thing as might be. And with trembling feare desired to be friends, within three daies after.

From *Nawsamond*, which is 30. miles from vs, the King sent vs a Hatchet which they had stollen from vs at our being there: the messenger, as is the custome, also wee well rewarded and contented.

The twenty of Aprill [1608], being at worke, in hewing downe Trees, and setting Corne, an alarum caused vs with all speede to take our armes, each expecting a new assault of the Saluages: but vnderstanding it [to be] a Boate vnder saile, our doubts were presently satisfied with the happy sight of Maister *Nelson*, his many perrills of extreame stormes and tempests [passed], his ship well as his company could testifie, his care in sparing our [*p.* 409.] [*pp.* 105, 409.]

[1608] prouision was well: but the prouidence [*provider*] thereof, as also of our stones, Hatchets and other tooles (onely ours excepted) which of all the rest was most necessary: which might inforce vs to thinke [him] either a seditious traitor to our action, or a most vnconscionable deceiuer of our treasures.

[*Ap.* 105, 409.] This happy arriuall of Maister *Nelson* in the *Phenix*, hauing beene then about three monethes missing after Captaine *Nuports* arriuall, being to all our expectations lost: albeit that now at the last, hauing beene long crossed with tempestuous weather and contrary winds, his so vnexpected comming did so rauish vs with exceeding joy, that now we thought our selues as well fitted as our harts could wish, both with a competent number of men, as also for all other needfull prouisions, till a further supply should come vnto vs.

[*Ap.* 105, 409.] Whereupon the first thing that was concluded was that my selfe and Maister *Scriuener*, should with 70. men goe with the best meanes we could prouide, to discouer beyond the Falls, as in our iudgements conueniently we might. Six or seauen daies we spent only in trayning our men to march, fight, and scirmish in the woods. Their willing minds to this action so quickned their vnderstanding in this exercise as, in all iudgements, wee were better able to fight with *Powhatans* whole force, in our order of battle amongst the Trees (for Thicks there is few) then the Fort was to repulse 400. at the first assault, with some tenne or twenty shot not knowing what to doe, nor how to vse a Piece.

Our warrant being sealed, Maister *Nelson* refused to assiste vs with the voluntary Marriners and himself, as he promised, vnlesse we would stand bound to pay the hire for shippe and Marriners, for the time they stayed. And further there was some controuersie, through the diuersitie of Contrary opinions: some alleadging that how profitable, and to what good purpose soeuer our iourney should portend, yet our commission commanding no certaine designe, we should be taxed for the most indiscreete men in the world, besides the wrong we should doe to Captaine *Nuport*, to whom only all discoueries did belong, and to no other:

The meanes for guides, besides the vncertaine courses of the riuer from which we could not erre much, each night would fortifie vs in two houres better then that they first called the Fort, their Townes vpon the riuer each within one dayes iourney of other, besides our ordinary prouision, might well be supposed to adde reliefe: for truck and dealing only, but in loue and peace, as with the rest. If they assalted vs, their Townes they cannot defend, nor their luggage so conuey that we should not share: but admit the worst, 16. daies prouision we had of Cheese Oatmeale and bisket; besides our randevous we could, and might, haue hid in the ground. With sixe men, Captaine *Martin* would haue vndertaken it himselfe, leauing the rest to defend the Fort and plant our Corne. [1608]

Yet no reason could be reason to proceede forward, though we were going aboard to set saile. These discontents caused so many doubts to some, and discouragement to others, as our iourney ended. Yet some of vs procured petitions to set vs forward, only with hope of our owne confusions [*disasters in the expedition*].

Our next course was to turne husbandmen, to fell Trees and set Corne. Fiftie of our men we imployed in this seruice; the rest kept the Fort, to doe the command of the president and Captaine *Martin*.

30. dayes [? *from* 4 *May to* 2 *June* 1608] the ship [*the Phœnix*] lay expecting the triall of certain matters which for some cause I keepe priuate.

The next exploit was an Indian hauing stolen an Axe, was so pursued by Maister *Scriuener* and them next him, as he threw it downe: and flying, drew his bow at any that durst incounter him.

Within foure or fiue dayes after, Maister *Scriuener* and I, being a litle from the Fort, among the Corne, two Indians, each with a cudgell, and all newly painted with *Terrasigillata*, came circling about me as though they would haue clubed me like a hare. I knew their faining loue is towards me not without a deadly hatred: but to preuent the worst, I calling maister *Scriuener* retired to the Fort. [*pp.* 106, 410.]

The Indians seeing me suspect them, with good tearmes, asked me for some of their men whom they would beate;

[1608] and went with me into our Fort. Finding one that lay ordinarily with vs, only for a spie; they offered to beat him. I in perswading them to forbeare, they offered to beginne with me; being now foure: for two other arrayed in like manner, came in on the other side the Fort.

Wherevpon I caused to shut the Ports, and apprehend[ed] them.

The president and Counsell, being presently acquainted, remembring at the first assault [*p.* 7], they came in like manner, and neuer else but against [*for*] some villanie, concluded to commit them to prison, and expect the euent. Eight more we ceazed at that present.

An houre after came three or foure other strangers extraordinarily fitted with arrowes, skinnes, and shooting gloues: their iealousie and feare bewrayed their bad intent, as also their suspitious departure.

The next day, came first an Indian, then another, as Embassadors for their men. They desired to speake with me. Our discourse was, that what Spades, Shouells, swords, or tooles they had stolne to bring home: if not, the next day, they should hang

[*Ar.*106, 410.] The next newes was, they had taken two of our men ranging in the woods (which mischiefe no punishment will preuent but hanging): and these they would, should redeeme their owne 16. or 18.; thus brauing vs to our doores.

We desired the president, and Captaine *Martin*, that afternoone to sally vpon them, that they might but know what we durst do: and at night, mand our Barge, and burnt their Townes, and spoiled and destroyed what we could.

But they brought our men, and freely deliuered them. The president released one. The rest we brought well guarded, to Morning and Euening prayers. Our men all in armes, their trembling feare then caused them to[o] much sorrow, which till then scoffed and scorned at what we durst doe.

The Counsell concluded, that I should terrifie them with some torture, to know if I could know their intent.

The next day, I bound one in hold [*confinement*] to the maine Mast [*i.e., of the Phœnix*]: and presenting sixe Muskets with match in the cockes, forced him to desire life. To answere my demaunds he could not: but one

of his *Comouodos* was of the counsell of *Paspahegh*, that could satisfie me: [1608]

I releasing him out of sight, I affrighted the other, first with the rack, then with Muskets; which seeing, he desired me to stay, and hee would confesse to this execution.

Maister *Scriuener* came, his discourse was to this effect.

That *Paspehegh*, the *Chickahamaniar*, *Youghtanum*, *Pamaunka*, *Mattapanient*, and *Kiskiack*: these Nations were al[l] together a hunting that tooke me [*pp.* 15, 70, 152]. *Paspahegh* and *Chicahamanya* had entended to surprise vs at worke, to haue had our tools. *Powhatan* and al his would seeme friends, till Captaine *Nuports* returne, that he had againe his man, which he called *Namontack*: where, with a great feast, hee would so enamor Captain *Nuport* and his men, as they should ceaze on him. And the like traps would be laied for the rest.

This trap for our tooles, we suspected [to be] the chiefe occasion that foure daies before, *Powhatan* had sent the boy [*Thomas Salvage*, *pp.* 27 *and* 31], he had to vs, with many Turkies to Maister *Scriuener* and me: vnderstanding I would go vp vnto his Countries to destroy them; and he doubted [*feared*] it the more, in that I so oft practised my men, whose shooting he heard to his owne lodging, that much feared his wiues and children.

We sent him word, we entended no such thing, but only to goe to *Powhatan*, to seeke stones to make Hatchets; except his men shot at vs, as *Paspahegh* had told vs they would: which if they did shoote but one arrowe, we would destroy them. And, least this mischiefe might happen, sent the boy [*Thomas Salvage*] to acquaint him thus much; and request[ed] him to send vs *Weanock*, one of his subiects for a guide.

The boy he returned backe with his Chest and apparell, which then we had giuen him: desiring another for him. The cause was, he was practising with the *Chikahamanias*, as the boy suspected some villanie, by their extraordinary resort and secret conference, from whence they would send him. The boy we keepe. Now we would send him many messengers and presents, the guide we desired he sent vs: and withall requested vs to returne him, either the boy or some other. But none he could haue. And that day these

[1608] Indians were apprehended, his sonne with others that had loaded at our Fort, returned, and being out of the Fort, rayled on me, to diuers of our men, to be enemies to him, and to the *Chika[ha]manias*.

Not long after, *Weanock* that had bin with us for our guide, whom wee kept to haue conducted vs in another iourny, with a false excuse returned: and secretly after him, *Amocis* the *Paspaheyan*, who alwaies they kept amongst vs for a spie, whom, the better to auoide suspition, presently after they came to beate away:

These presumptions induced me to take any occasion, not onely to try the honesty of *Amocis* the spie, but also the meaning of these cunning trickes of their Emperour of *Powhatan*; whose true meaning Captaine *Martin* most confidently pleaded.

The confession of *Macanoe*, which was the counseller of *Paspahegh*: first I, then Maister *Scriuener*, vpon their seuerall examinations, found by them all confirmed, that *Paspahegh* and *Chickahammania* did hate vs, and intended some mischiefe: and who they were that tooke me [*p.* 15]; the names of them that stole our tooles and swords, and that *Powhatan* receiued them they all agreed. Certaine vollies of shot we caused to be discharged, which caused each other to think that their fellowes had beene slaine.

Powhatan vnderstanding we detained certaine Saluages, [*pp.* 106–107, 410.] sent [*i.e.*, *in May* 1608] his Daughter, a child of tenne yeares old: which, not only for feature, countenance, and proportion, much exceedeth any of the rest of his people: but for wit and spirit, [is] the only *Nonpariel* of his Country. This hee sent by his most trustie messenger, called *Rawhunt*, as much exceeding in deformitie of person; but of a subtill wit and crafty vnderstanding.

He, with a long circumstance, told mee, how well *Powhatan* loued and respected mee; and in that I should not doubt any way of his kindnesse, he had sent his child, which he most esteemed, to see me; a Deare and bread besides, for a present: desiring me that the Boy [*Thomas Salvage*] might come againe, which he loued exceedingly. [*p.* 410.] His litle Daughter hee had taught this lesson also, not taking notice at all of the Indeans that had beene prisoners three daies, till that morning that she saw their fathers

and friends come quietly, and in good tearmes to entreate their libertie. [1608]

Opechankanough sent also vnto vs, that for his sake, we would release two that were his friends: and for a token, sent me his shooting Gloue and Bracer, which the day our men was taken vpon; separating himselfe from the rest a long time, intreated to speake with me, where in token of peace, he had preferred me the same. Now all of them hauing found their peremptorie conditions but to increase our malice; which they seeing vs begin to threaten to destroy them, as familiarly as before, without suspition or feare, came amongst vs, to begge libertie for their men.

In the afternoone, they being gone, we guarded them as before to the Church; and after prayer, gaue them to *Pocahuntas*, the Kings Daughter, in regard of her fathers [pp. 107, 410] kindnesse in sending her. After hauing well fed them, as all the time of their imprisonment, we gaue them their bowes, arrowes, or what else they had; and with [their] much content, sent them packing. *Pocahuntas* also we requited with such trifles as contented her, to tel that we had vsed the *Paspaheyans* very kindly in so releasing them.

The next day, we had suspition of some other practise for an Ambuscado; but perfectly wee could not discouer it.

Two daies after, a *Paspaheyan* came to shew vs a glistering Minerall stone, and with signes demonstrating it to be in great aboundance like vnto Rockes: with some dozen more, I was sent to seeke to digge some quantitie, and the Indean to conduct me. But suspecting this some trick to delude vs, for to get some Copper of vs; or with some ambuscado to betray vs, seeing him falter in his tale, being two miles on our way, [we] led him ashore: where abusing vs from place to place, and so seeking either to haue drawne vs with him into the woods, or to haue giuen vs the slippe; I shewed him [the] Copper, which I promised to haue giuen him, if he had performed his promise. But for his scoffing and abusing vs, I gaue him twentie lashes with a Rope; and his bowes and arrowes, bidding him shoote if he durst: and so let him goe.

In all this time, our men being all or the most part well

[1608] recouered, and we not willing to trifle away more time then necessitie enforced vs vnto: we thought good, for the better content of the aduenturers, in some reasonable sort to fraight home Maister *Nelson*, with Cedar wood. About which, our men going with willing minds, [it] was in very good time effected, and the ship sent for England [*on 2nd June* 1608, *see p.* 109]. Wee now remaining being in good health, all our men wel contented, free from mutinies, in loue one with another, and as we hope in a continuall peace with the Indians: where we doubt not but by Gods gracious assistance, and the aduenturers willing minds and speedie futherance to so honorable an action, in after times to see our Nation to enioy a Country, not onely exceeding pleasant for habitation, but also very profitable for comerce in generall; no doubt pleasing to almightie God, honourable to our gracious Soueraigne, and commodious generally to the whole Kingdome.

FINIS.

A MAP OF VIRGINIA.

VVITH A DESCRIPTION OF THE COVNTREY, THE Commodities, People, Government and Religion.

VVritten by Captaine SMITH, *sometimes Governour of the Countrey.*

WHEREVNTO IS ANNEXED THE proceedings of those Colonies, since their first departure from England, with the discourses, Orations, and relations of the Salvages, and the accidents that befell them in all their Iournies and discoveries

TAKEN FAITHFVLLY AS THEY were written out of the writings of

DOCTOR RVSSELL. RICHARD WIEFIN.
THO. STVDLEY. WILL. PHETTIPLACE.
ANAS TODKILL. NATHANIEL POVVELL.
IEFFRA ABOT. RICHARD POTS.

And the relations of divers other diligent observers there *present then, and now many of them in England.*

By VV. S.

AT OXFORD,
Printed by Joseph Barnes. 1612.

[The first part of this Work is evidently an expanded and revised text of that "Mappe of the Bay and Rivers, with an annexed Relation of the Countries and Nations that inhabit them" (*p.* 444), which President JOHN SMITH sent home, about November 1608, to the Council in London, as the result of his explorations in Chesapeake Bay in the previous summer.

That this book of travels &c. should have been printed at the Oxford University Press is a most singular fact.

The Earl of LEICESTER, then Chancellor of the University, gave, in 1585, that University a new printing press: and JOSEPH BARNES was, at the same time, appointed University Printer, which office he held till his death, about 1617.

The hand printing presses in England were jealously registered, and locked up every night, to prevent surreptious printing; all through the lifetime of our Author: and the Company of Stationers of London especially watched with a keen jealousy the printing operations of the two Universities of Cambridge and Oxford, who each possessed a single hand press. See W. HERBERT's edition of J. AMES's *Typographical Antiquities*, iii, 1398, Ed. 1790, 4to.

This solitary hand printing press at Oxford, usually produced sermons, theological and learned Works, &c.; in the midst of which, this book of travels crops up in a startling manner.

Why could not, or would not SMITH get it printed in London? Had the revision of its second Part by the Rev. Dr. SIMMONDS anything to do with the printing at Oxford? These nuts we must leave for others to crack.

Of course, being printed at Oxford, this book was not registered at Stationer's Hall, London.

For its bibliography, see *p.* cxxx: from which it would appear, that, while the eight other Works of Captain SMITH have been reprinted once or oftener during the last century, this is the first reprint of the *Map of Virginia* as it originally appeared.

It is sometimes misnamed the Oxford *tract*; but it is rather a book than a tract.]

TO THE HAND.

LEast I should wrong any in dedicating this Booke to one: I have concluded it shal be particular to none. I found it only dedicated to a Hand, and to that hand I addresse it. Now for that this businesse is common to the world, this booke may best satisfie the world, because it was penned in the Land it treateth of. If it bee disliked of men, then I would recommend it to women, for being dearely bought, and farre sought, it should be good for Ladies. When all men reiected Christopher Collumbus: that ever renowned Queene Izabell of Spaine, could pawne her Iewels to supply his wants; whom all the wise men (as they thought themselues) of that age contemned. I need not say what was his worthinesse, her noblenesse, and their ignorance, that so scornefully did spit at his wants, seeing the whole world is enriched with his golden fortunes. Cannot this successfull example moue the incredulous of this time, to consider, to conceaue, and apprehend Virginia, which might be, or breed vs a second India? hath not England an Izabell, as well as Spaine, nor yet a Collumbus as well as Geneua? yes surely it hath, whose desires are no lesse then was worthy Collumbus, their certainties more, their experiences no way wanting, only there wants but an Izabell, so it were not from Spaine. [1612]

T. A.

Because many doe desire to knowe the maner of their language, I haue inserted these few words.

[1607-9] KA *ka torawincs yowo.* What call you this.
Nemarough. a man.
Crenepo. a woman.
Marowanchesso. a boy.
Yehawkans. Houses.
Matchcores. Skins, or garments.
Mockasins. Shooes.
Tussan. Beds.
Pokatawer. Fire.
Attawp. A bowe.
Attonce. Arrowes.
Monacookes. Swords.
Aumoughhowgh. A Target.
Pawcussacks. Gunnes.
Tomahacks. Axes.
Tockahacks. Pickaxes.
Pamesacks. Kniues.
Accowprets. Sheares.
Pawpecones. Pipes.
Mattassin. Copper.
Vssawassin. Iron, Brasse, Silver, or any white metal.
Musses. Woods.
Attasskuss. Leaues, weeds, or grasse.
Chepsin. Land.
Shacquohocan. A stone.
Wepenter, a cookold.
Suckahanna. Water.

San Jose, Calif.

[1607–9]

Noughmass. Fish.
Copotone. Sturgion.
Weghshaughes. Flesh.
Sawwehone. Bloud.
Netoppew. Friends.
Marrapough. Enimies.
Maskapow. The worst of the enimies.
Mawchick chammay. The best of friends.
Casacunnakack, peya quagh acquintan vttasantasough. In how many daies will there come hether any more English ships?

Their numbers.

Necut. 1.
Ningh. 2.
Nuss. 3.
Yowgh. 4.
Paranske. 5.
Comotinch. 6.
Toppawoss. 7.
Nusswash. 8.
Kekatawgh. 9.
Keskeke. [10.]

They count no more but by tennes as followetn.

Case, how many.
Ninghsapooeksku. 20.
Nussapooeksku. 30.
Yowghapooeksku. 40.
Parankestassapooeksku. 50.
Comatinchtassapooeksku. 60.
Nussswashtassapooeksku. 80.
Toppawousstassapooeksku. 70.
Kekataughtassapooeksku. 90.
Necuttoughtysinough. 100.
Necuttwevnquaough. 1000.

Rawcosowghs. Daies.
Keskowghes. Sunnes.
Toppquough. Nights.
Nepawweshowghs. Moones,

[1607–9] *Pawpaxsoughes.* Yeares.
Pummahump Starres.
Osies. Heavens.
Okes. Gods.
Quiyoughcosucks. Pettie Gods, and their affinities.
Righcomoughes. Deaths.
Kekughes. Liues.
Mowchick woyawgh tawgh noeragh kaquere mecher. I am verie hungrie? what shall I eate?
Tawnor nehiegh Powhatan. where dwels Powwhatan.
Mache, nehiegh yowrowgh, orapaks. Now he dwels a great way hence at orapaks.
Vttapitchewayne anpechitchs nehawper werowacomoco. You lie, he staide ever at werowocomoco.
Kator nehiegh mattagh neer vttapitchewayne. Truely he is there I doe not lie.
Spaughtynere keragh werowance mawmarinough kekatenwawgh peyaquaugh. Run you then to the king mawmarynough and bid him come hither.
Vtteke, e peya weyack wighwhip. Get you gone, and come againe quickly.
Kekaten pokahontas patiaquagh niugh tanks manotyens neer mowchick rawrenock audowgh. Bid Pokahontas bring hither two little Baskets, and I wil giue her white beads to make her a chaine.

FINIS.

THE DESCRIPTION

OF VIRGINIA BY CAPTAINE Smith.

IRGINIA is a Country in *America*, that lyeth betweene the degrees of 34 and 44 of the north latitude. The bounds thereof on the East side are the great *Ocean*. On the South lyeth *Florida*: on the North *nova Francia*. As for the West thereof, the limits are vnknowne. Of all this country wee purpose not to speake, but only of that part which was planted by the English men in the yeare of our Lord, 1606 [*i.e., according to the old style of reckoning the year from the 25th of March; Smith, therefore, here means the winter of* 1606–7]. *And this is vnder the degrees* 37. 38. *and* 39. The temperature of this countrie doth agree well with English constitutions being once seasoned to the country. Which appeared by this, that though by many occasions our people fell sicke; yet did they recover by very small meanes and continued in health, though there were other great causes, not only to haue made them sicke, but even to end their daies, &c. [1607-9]

The latitude. [*p.* 343.]

The sommer is hot as in *Spaine*; the winter colde as in *Fraunce* or *England*. The heat of sommer is in Iune, Iulie, and August, but commonly the coole Breeses asswage the vehemencie of the heat. The chiefe of winter is halfe December, Ianuary, February, and halfe March. The colde is extreame sharpe, but here the proverbe is true that *no extreame long continueth.* [*p.* 344.]

The temperature.

[1607-9] In the yeare 1607[-8]. was an extraordinary frost in most of *Europe*, and this frost was founde as extreame in *Virginia*. But the next yeare for 8. or 10. daies of ill weather, other 14 daies would be as Sommer.

The windes. The windes here are variable, but the like thunder and lightning to purifie the aire, I haue seldome either seene or [2] heard in *Europe*. From the Southwest came the greatest gustes with thunder and heat. The Northwest winde is commonly coole, and bringeth faire weather with it. From the North is the greatest cold, and from the East and South-East as from the *Barmadas*, fogs and raines.

Some times there are great droughts, other times much raine, yet great necessity of neither, by reason we see not but that all the variety of needfull fruits in *Europe* may be there in great plenty by the industry of men, as appeareth by those we there planted.

The entrances. There is but one entraunce by sea into this country, and that is at the mouth of a very goodly Bay, the widenesse whereof is neare 18. or 20. miles. The cape on the South *Cape Henry.* side is called *Cape Henry* in honour of our most noble Prince. The shew of the land there, is a white hilly sand like vnto the Downes, and along the shores great plentie of Pines and Firres.

Cape Charles. The north *Cape* is called *Cape Charles* in honour of the worthy Duke of *Yorke*.

The country. Within is a country that may haue the prerogatiue over the most pleasant places of *Europe*, *Asia*, *Africa*, or *America*, for large and pleasant navigable rivers: heaven and earth never agreed better to frame a place for mans habitation being of our constitutions, were it fully manured and inhabited by industrious people. Here are mountaines, hils, plaines, valleyes, rivers and brookes all running most pleasantly into a faire Bay compassed but for the mouth with fruitfull and delightsome land. In the Bay and rivers are many Isles both great and small, some [*p.* 345.] woody, some plaine, most of them low and not inhabited. This Bay lieth North and South in which the water floweth neare 200 miles and hath a channell for 140 miles, of depth betwixt 7 and 15 fadome, holding in breadth for the most part 10 or 14 miles. From the head of the Bay at the north, the land is mounta[i]nous, and so in a

manner from thence by a Southwest line; So that the more Southward, the farther of[f] from the Bay are those mountaines. From which, fall [3] certaine brookes, which after come to fiue principall navigable rivers. These run from the Northwest into the South east, and so into the west side of the Bay, where the fall of every River is within 20 or 15 miles one of an other. [1607-9]

The mountaines. The mountaines are of diverse natures, for at the head of the Bay the rockes are of a composition like milnstones. Some of marble, &c. And many peeces of christall we found as throwne downe by water from the mountaines. For in winter these mountaines are covered with much snow, and when it dissolveth the waters fall with such violence, that it causeth great inundations in the narrow valleyes which yet is scarce perceived being once in the rivers. These waters wash from the rocks such glistering tinctures that the ground in some places seemeth as guilded, where both the rocks and the earth are so splendent to behold, *that better iudgements then ours might haue beene perswaded, they contained more then probabilities.*

The soile. The vesture of the earth in most places doeth manifestly proue the nature of the soile to be lusty and very rich. The coulor of the earth we found in diverse places, resembleth *bole Armoniac*, *terra sigillata ad lemnia*, Fullers earth, marle, and divers other such appearances. But generally for the most part the earth is a black sandy mould, in some places a fat slimy clay, in other places a very barren gravell. But the best ground is knowne by the vesture it beareth, as by the greatnesse of trees or abundance of weedes, &c.

The vallyes. The country is not mounta[i]nous nor yet low but such pleasant plaine hils and fert[i]le valleyes, one prettily crossing an other, and watered so conveniently with their sweete brookes and christall springs, as if art it selfe had devised them.

Plaines. By the rivers are many plaine marishes containing some 20, some 100, some 200 Acres, some more, some lesse. Other plaines there are fewe, but only where the *Savages* inhabit: but all overgrowne with trees and weedes being a plaine wildernes as God first made it. [*p.* 346.]

On the west side of the Bay, wee said were 5. faire and

[1607-9] [4] delightfull *navigable* rivers, of which wee will nowe proceed to report.

The river Powhatan. The first of those rivers and the next to the mouth of the Bay, hath his course from the West and by North. The name of this river they call *Powhatan* accor[ding] to the name of a principall country that lieth vpon it. The mouth of this river is neere three miles in breadth, *yet doe the shoules force the Channell so neere the land that a Sacre will overshoot it at point blanck. This river is navigable* 100 *miles, the shouldes and soundings are here needlesse to bee expressed.* It falleth from Rockes farre west in a country inhabited by a nation that they call *Monacan.* But where it commeth into our discoverie it is *Powhatan.* In the farthest place that was diligently observed, are falles, rockes, showles, &c., which makes it past navigation *any higher.* Thence in the running downeward, the river is enriched with many goodly brookes, which are maintained by an infinit number of small rundles and pleasant springs that disperse themselues for best service, as doe the vaines of a mans body.

The branches. From the South there fals into this river. First the pleasant river of *Apamatuck*: next more to the East are the two rivers of *Quiyoughcohanocke.* A little farther is a Bay wherein falleth 3 or 4 prettie brookes and creekes that halfe intrench the Inhabitants of *Warraskoyac*; then the river of *Nandsamund,* and lastly the brooke of *Chisapeack.*

From the North side is the river of *Chickahamania,* the backe river of *Iames* Towne; another by the *Cedar Isle* where we lived 10 weekes vpon oisters, then a convenient harbour for fisher boats or smal boats at *Kecoughtan,* that so conveniently turneth it selfe into *Bayes* and Creeks that make that place very pleasant to inhabit, their cornefields being girded therein in a manner as *Peninsulaes.*

The most of these rivers are inhabited by severall nations, or rather families. [which are] Of the name of the rivers. They haue also in every of those places some Gouernour, as their king, which they call *Werowances.*

Iames Towne. In a *Peninsula* on the North side of this river are the English planted in a place by them called *Iames* [5] Towne, in honour of the Kings most excellent Maiestie: vpon which side are also many places vnder the *Werowances.*

[*p.* 347.]

The first and next the rivers mouth, are the *Kecoughtans,* who besides their women and children, haue not past 20. fighting men. The *Paspaheghes,* on whose land is seated the English Colony, some 40. miles from the *Bay,* haue not passed 40. The river called *Chickahamania* [has] neere 200. The *Weanocks* 100. The *Arrowhatocks* 30. The place called *Powhatan,* some 40. On the South side [of] this river, the *Appamatucks* haue 60 fighting men. The *Quiyougcohanocks,* 25. The *Warraskoyacks* 40. The *Nandsamunds* 200. The *Chesapeacks* are able to make 100. Of this last place the *Bay* beareth the name. In all these places is a severall commander, which they call *Werowance,* except the *Chickhamanians,* who are governed by the Priestes and their Assistants of their Elders called *Caw-cawwassoughes.* In somer no place affordeth more plentie of *Sturgeon,* nor in winter more abundance of fowle, especially in the time of frost. There was once taken 52 Sturgeons at a draught, at another draught 68. From the later end of May till the end of June are taken few, but yong Sturgeons of 2 foot or a yard long. From thence till the midst of September, them of 2 or three yards long and fewe others. And in 4 or 5 houres with one nette were ordinarily taken 7 or 8: often more, seldome lesse. In the small rivers all the yeare there is good plentie of small fish, so that with hookes those that would take paines had sufficient. **[1607–9]**

The severall inhabitants.

Foureteene miles Northward from the river *Powhatan,* is the river *Pamavnke, which is navigable* 60 *or* 70 *myles, but with Catches and small Barkes* 30 *or* 40 *myles farther.* At the ordinary flowing of the salt water, it divideth it selfe into two gallant branches. *R. Pamavnke.*

On the South side inhabit the people of *Youghtanund,* who haue about 60 men for warres. On the North branch *Mattapament,* who haue 30 men. Where this river is divided, the Country is called *Pamavnke* [**6**], and nourisheth neere 300 able men. About 25 miles lower on the North side of this river is *Werawocomoco,* where their great King inhabited when Captain *Smith* was deliuered him prisoner; yet there are not past 40 able men. But now he hath abandoned that, and liueth at *Orapakes* by *Youghtanund* in the wildernesse. 10 or 12 myles lower, *The inhabitants*

[1607-9] on the South side of this river is *Chiskiack*, which hath
[p. 348.] some 40 or 50 men. These, as also *Apamatuck, Irrohatock*, and *Powhatan*, are their great kings chiefe alliance and inhabitance. The rest (as they report) his Conquests.

Payankatank. R Before we come to the third river that falleth from the mountaines, there is another river (*some* 30 *myles navigable*) that commeth from the Inland: the river is called *Payankatanke*, the Inhabitants are about some 40 serviceable men.

Toppahanock, R. The third navigable riuer is called *Toppahanock*. (*This is navigable some* 130 *myles.*) At the top of it inhabit the people called *Mannahoackes* amongst the mountaines, but they are aboue the place we describe.

The inhabitants Vpon this river on the North side are seated a people called *Cuttatawomen*, with 30 fighting men. Higher on the riuer are the *Moraughtacunds*, with 80 able men. Beyond them *Toppahanock* with 100 men. Far aboue is another *Cuttatawomen* with 20 men. On the South, far within the river is *Nautaughtacund* hauing 150 men. This river also, as the two former, is replenished with fish and foule.

Patawomek. R. The fourth river is called *Patawomeke* and is 6 or 7 miles in breadth. *It is navigable* 140 *miles, and* fed as the rest with many sweet rivers and springs, which fall from the bordering hils. These hils many of them are planted, and yeelde no lesse plenty and variety of fruit then the river exceedeth with abundance of fish.

The inhabitants This river is inhabited on both sides. First on the South side at the very entrance is *Wighcocomoco* and hath some 130 men: beyond them *Sekacawone* with 30. The *Onawmanient* with 100. Then *Patawomeke* with 160 able men.

Here doth the river divide it selfe into [7] 3 or 4 convenient rivers; The greatest of the least is called *Quiyough* [and] treadeth [? *trendeth*] north west, but the river it selfe turneth *North east* and is stil a navigable streame. On the westerne side of this bought is *Tauxenent* with 40 men. On the north of this river is *Secowocomoco* with 40 men. Some what further *Potapaco* with 20. In the East part of the bought of the river is *Pamacacack* with 60 men. After, *Moyowances* with 100. And lastly, *Nacotchtanke* with 80 able men. The river 10 miles aboue this place maketh

his passage downe a low pleasant vally overshaddowed [1607–9]
in manie places with high rocky mountaines; from whence
distill innumerable sweet and pleasant springs.

The fifth river is called *Pawtuxunt*, and is of a lesse *Pawtuxunt R.*
proportion then the rest; but the channell is 16 or 18
fadome deepe in some places. Here are infinit[e] skuls of [*p.* 349.]
divers kinds of fish more then elsewhere.

Vpon this river dwell the people called *Acquintanacksuak*, *Pawtuxunt* and *Mattapanient*. 200 men was the greatest strength that could bee there perceived. But they inhabit togither, and not so dispersed as the rest. These of al other were found the most civill to giue intertainement.

Thirty leagues Northward is a river not inhabited, yet *Bolus, R.*
navigable; for the red earth or clay resembling *bole Armoniack*, the English called it *Bolus*.

At the end of the Bay where it is 6 or 7 miles in breadth, *The head of the Bay.*
there fall into it 4 small rivers, 3 of them issuing from diverse bogges invironed with high mountaines.

There is one that commeth *du*[*e*] north, 3 or 4. daies iourn[e]y from the head of the Bay, and fals from rocks and mountaines. Vpon this riuer inhabit a people called *Sasquesahanock*. *Sasquesahanock.*

They are seated 2 daies higher then was passage for the discoverers Barge, which was hardly 2 toons, and had in it but 12 men to perform this discouery, wherein they lay aboue the space of 12 weekes vpon those great waters in those vnknowne Countries, hauing nothing but a little meale or oatmeale and water to feed them; and scarse halfe sufficient of that for halfe that time, but that by the [8] Savages and by the plentie of fish they found in all places, they made themselues provision as opportunitie served; yet had they not a marriner or any that had skill to trim their sayles, vse their oares, or any businesse belonging to the Barge, but 2 or 3. The rest being Gentlemen or as ignorant in such toyle and labour: yet necessitie in a short time, by their Captaines diligence and example, taught them to become so perfect, that what they did by such small meanes, I leaue to the censure of [*p.* 350] the Reader to iudge by this discourse and the annexed Map.

But to proceed, 60 of those *Sasquesahanocks* came to the discouerers with skins, Bowes, Arrowes, Targets,

[1607-9] Beads, Swords, and Tobacco pipes for presents. Such great and well proportioned men, are seldome seene, for they seemed like Giants to the English, yea and to the neighbours: yet seemed of an honest and simple disposition, [and they were] with much adoe restrained from adoring the discoverers as Gods. Those are the most strange people of all those Countries, both in language and attire; for their language it may well beseeme their proportions, sounding from them, as it were a great voice in a vault, or caue, as an Eccho. Their attire is the skinnes of Beares and Woolues, some haue Cassacks made of Beares heades and skinnes that a mans necke goes through the skinnes neck, and the eares of the beare fastned to his shoulders behind, the nose and teeth hanging downe his breast, and at the end of the nose hung a Beares Pawe: the halfe sleeues comming to the elbowes were the neckes of Beares and the armes through the mouth, with pawes hanging at their noses. One had the head of a Woolfe hanging in a chaine for a Iewell; his Tobacco pipe 3 quarters of a yard long, prettily carued with a Bird, a Beare, a Deare, or some such devise at the great end, sufficient to beat out the braines of a man: with bowes, and arrowes, and clubs, su[i]table to their greatnesse and conditions.

The description of a Sasquesahanough.

These are scarse knowne to *Powhatan*. They can make neere 600 able and mighty men, and are pallisadoed in their Townes to defend them from [9] the *Massawomekes* their mortall enimies. 5 of their chiefe *Werowances* came aboard the discoverers, and crossed the *Bay* in their Barge. The picture of the greatest of them is signified in the Mappe. The calfe of whose leg was 3 quarters of a yard about: and all the rest of his limbes so answerable to that proportion, that he seemed the goodliest man that euer we beheld. His haire, the one side was long, the other shore close with a ridge over his crown like a cocks combe. His arrowes were fiue quarters [of a yard] long, headed with flints or splinters of stones, in forme like a heart, an inch broad, and an inch and a halfe or more long. These hee wore in a woolues skinne at his backe for his quiver, his bow in the one hand and his clubbe in the other, as is described.

[*p.* 384.]

[*p.* 351.]

On the East side the *Bay* is the river of *Tockwhogh*, and vpon it a people that can make 100 men, seated some 7 miles within the river: where they haue a Fort very wel pallisadoed and mantelled with the barke of trees. Next to them is *Ozinies* with 60 men. More to the South of that East side of the *Bay*, the river of *Rapahanock*; neere vnto which is the river of *Kuskarawaock*, vpon which is seated a people with 200 men. After that is the river of *Tants Wighcocomoco*, and on it a people with 100 men. [1607–9] *Tockwhogh. R.* *Rapahanock R.* *Kuskarawaock. R.* *Wighcocomoco. R.*

The people of those rivers are of little stature, of another language from the rest, and very rude. But they on the river of *Acohanock* with 40 men, and they of *Accomack* [with] 80 men, doth equalize any of the Territories of *Powhatan* and speake his language; who over all those doth rule as king. *Accomack. R.*

Southward they went to some parts of *Chawonock* and the *Mangoags*, to search [for] them there left by *Sir Walter Raleigh*; for those parts to the Towne of *Chisapeack*, hath formerly been discovered by *Maister Heriots* and *Sir Ralph Layne*. *Chawonock.* [*p.* 312.]

Amongst those people are thus many severall nations of sundry languages, that environ *Powhatans* Territories. The *Chawonokes*, the *Mangoags*, the *Monacans*, the *Mannahokes*, the *Masawomekes*, the *Powhatans*, the *Sasquesahanocks* [**10**], the *Atquanachukes*, the *Tockwoghes*, and the *Kuscarawaokes*. Al those not any one vnderstandeth another but by Interpreters. Their severall habitations are more plainly described by this annexed Mappe, which will present to the eie, the way of the mountaines and current of the riuers, with their seuerall turnings, bays, shoules, Isles, Inlets, and creekes, the breadth of the waters, the distances of places and such like. In which Mappe obserue this, that as far as you see the little Crosses on riuers, mountaines, or other places, haue beene discovered; the rest was had by information of the *Savages*, and are set downe according to their instructions. *The several languages.* [*p.* 384.]

[1607-9]

Of such things which are naturall in Virginia and how they vse them.

[*f.* 352.]

Why there is little grasse.

Virginia doth afford many excellent vegitables and liuing Creatures, yet grasse there is little or none but what groweth in lowe Marishes: for all the Countrey is overgrowne with trees, whose droppings continually turneth their grasse to weedes, by reason of the rancknesse of the ground; which would soone be amended by good husbandry. The wood that is most common is Oke and Walnut: many of their Okes are so tall and straight, that they will beare two foot and a halfe square of good timber for 20 yards long. Of this wood there is 2 or 3 seuerall kinds. The Acornes of one kind, whose barke is more white then the other, is somewhat sweetish; which being boyled halfe a day in severall waters, at last afford a sweete oyle, which they keep in goards to annoint their heads and ioints. The fruit they eate, made in bread or otherwise.

Woods with their fruits.

Elme.

There is also some Elme, some black walnut tree, and some Ash: of Ash and Elme they make sope Ashes. If the trees be very great, the ashes will be good, and melt to hard lumps: but if they be small, it will be but powder, and not so good as the other.

Walnuts.

Supposed Cypres

Of walnuts there is 2 or 3 kindes: there is a kinde of wood we called Cypres, because both the wood, the fruit, and leafe did most resemble it; and of those trees there are [11] some neere 3 fadome about at the root, very straight, and 50, 60, or 80 foot without a braunch.

Mulberies.

By the dwelling of the *Savages* are some great Mulbery trees; and in some parts of the Countrey, they are found growing naturally in prettie groues. There was an assay made to make silke, and surely the wormes prospered excellent well, till the master workeman fell sicke: during which time, they were eaten with rats.

Chestnuts.

In some parts, were found some Chestnuts whose wild fruit equalize the best in *France*, *Spaine*, *Germany*, or *Italy*, to their tast[e]s that had tasted them all.

Plumbs there are of 3 sorts. The red and white are

like our hedge plumbs: but the other, which they call *Putchamins*, grow as high as a *Palmeta*. The fruit is like a medler; it is first greene, then yellow, and red when it is ripe: if it be not ripe it will drawe a mans mouth awrie with much torment; but when it is ripe, it is as delicious as an Apricock. [1607–9] [p. 353.]

They haue Cherries, and those are much like a Damsen; but for their tastes and colour, we called them Cherries. We see some few Crabs, but very small and bitter. *Cherries.*

Of vines, [there is] great abundance in many parts, that climbe the toppes of the highest trees in some places, but these beare but fewe grapes. But by the riuers and Savage[s] habitations where they are not overshadowed from the sunne, they are covered with fruit, though never pruined nor manured. Of those hedge grapes, wee made neere 20 gallons of wine, which was neare as good as your French Brittish wine, but certainely they would proue good were they well manured. *Vines*

There is another sort of grape neere as great as a Cherry, this they call *Messaminnes*; they bee fatte, and the iuyce thicke: neither doth the tast so well please when they are made in wine.

They haue a small fruit growing on little trees, husked like a Chesnut, but the fruit most like a very small acorne. This they call *Chechinquamins*, which they esteeme a great daintie. They haue a berry much like our gooseberry, in greatnesse, colour, and tast; those they call [12] *Rawcomenes*, and doe eat them raw or boyled. *Chechinquamens* *Rawcomens*

Of these naturall fruits they liue a great part of the yeare, which they vse in this manner. *The walnuts, Chesnuts, Acornes, and Chechinquamens* are dryed to keepe. When they need them, they breake them betweene two stones, yet some part of the walnut shels will cleaue to the fruit. Then doe they dry them againe vpon a mat ouer a hurdle. After, they put it into a morter of wood, and beat it very small: that done, they mix it with water, that the shels may sinke to the bottome. This water will be coloured as milke; which they cal *Pawcohiscora*, and keepe it for their vse. *How they vse their fruits* *Walnut milke.*

The fruit like medlers, they call *Putchamins*, they cast vppon hurdles on a mat, and preserue them as Pruines.

[1607-9] [*f.* 354.] *Of their Chesnuts* and *Chechinquamens* boyled 4 houres, they make both broath and bread for their chiefe men, or at their greatest feasts.

Gummes. Besides those fruit trees, there is *a white populer*, and another tree like vnto it, that yeeldeth a very cleere and an odoriferous *Gumme like Turpentine, which some called Balsom.* *Cedars.* There are also *Cedars* and *Saxafras trees.* *Saxafras trees.* They also yeeld gummes in a small proportion of themselues. Wee tryed conclusions to extract it out of the wood, but nature afforded more then our arts.

Berries. In the wat[e]ry valleyes groweth *a berry*, which they call *Ocoughtanamnis*, very much like vnto Capers. These they dry in sommer. When they will eat them, they boile them neare halfe a day; for otherwise they differ not much from poyson. *Matoume.* *Mattoume* groweth as our bents do in meddows. The seede is not much vnlike to rie, though much smaller. This they vse for a dainty bread buttered with deare suet.

Straw-berries During Somer there are either *strawberries* which ripen in April; or mulberries which ripen in May and Iune. Raspises hurres; or a fruit that the Inhabitants call *Maracocks*, which is a pleasant wholsome fruit much like a lemond.

Hearbs. Many *hearbes* in the spring time there are commonly dispersed throughout the woods, good for brothes and sallets, as Violets, Purslin, Sorrell, &c. Besides many we vsed whose [13] names we know not.

Rootes. The chiefe roote they haue for foode is called *Tockawhoughe.* It groweth like a flagge in low muddy freshes. In one day a *Savage* will gather sufficient for a weeke. These rootes are much of the greatnes and taste of *Potatoes.* They vse to couer a great many of them with oke leaues and ferne, and then couer all with earth in the manner of a colepit; over it, on each side, they continue a great fire 24 houres before they dare eat it. Raw it is no better then poison, and being roasted, except it be tender and the heat abated, or sliced and dried in the sun, mixed with sorrell and meale or such like, it will prickle and torment the throat extreamely, and yet in sommer they vse this ordinarily for bread.

[1607–9]

They haue an other roote which they call *wighsacan*: as th[e]other feedeth the body, so this cureth their hurts and diseases. It is a small root which they bruise and apply to the wound. *Pocones* is a small roote that groweth in the mountaines, which being dryed and beate in powder turneth red: and this they vse for swellings, aches, annointing their ioints, painting their heads and garments. They account it very pretious and of much worth. *Musquaspenne* is a roote of the bignesse of a finger, and as red as bloud. In drying, it will wither almost to nothing. This they vse to paint their Mattes, Targets, and such like.

Wighsacan a Root. [*p.* 355.]

Pocones a small Roote.

Musquaspenne, a Root.

There is also *Pellitory of Spaine*, *Sasafrage*, and diuers other simples, which the Apothecaries gathered, and commended to be good and medicinable.

Pellitory. *Sasafrage.*

In the low Marishes, *growe plots of Onyons* containing an acre of ground or more in many places; but they are small, not past the bignesse of the Toppe of ones Thumbe.

Onyons.

Of beastes the chiefe are Deare, nothing differing from ours. In the deserts towards the heads of the riuers, ther[e] are many, but amongst the riuers few.

Their chiefe beasts are Deare

There is a beast they call Aroughcun, much like a badger, but vseth to liue on trees as Squirrels doe. *Their Squirrels* some as neare as greate as [**14**] our smallest sort of wilde rabbits; some blackish or blacke and white, but the most are gray.

Aroughcun. *Squirrels.*

A small beast they haue, they call Assapanick, but we call them flying squirrels, because spreading their legs, and so stretching the largenesse of their skins that they haue bin seene to fly 30 or 40 yards. *An Opassom hath an head like a Swine*, and a taile like a *Rat*, and is of the bignes of a Cat. Vnder her belly shee hath a bagge, wherein shee lodgeth, carrieth, and sucketh her young. *Mussascus* is a beast of the forme and nature of our water *Rats*, but many of them smell exceeding strong of muske. Their Hares [are] no bigger then our Conies, and few of them to be found.

Assapanick a Squirrel flying. *Opassom.* *Mussascus.*

Their *Beares* are very little in comparison of those of *Muscouia* and *Tartaria*. The *Beaver* is as bigge as an ordinary water dogge, but his legges exceeding short. His fore feete like a dogs, his hinder feet like a Swans.

Beares. *The Beaver.*

[1607-9] His taile somewhat like the forme of a Racket bare without haire; which to eate, the *Savages* esteeme a great delicate. *They haue many Otters*, which, as the Beavers, they take with snares, and esteeme the skinnes great ornaments; and of all those beasts they vse to feede, when they catch them.

[f. 356.]
Otters.

Vetchunquoyes. *There is also a beast they call Vetchunquoyes* in the forme of a wilde Cat. *Their Foxes* are like our siluer haired Conies, of a small proportion, and not smelling like those in England. *Their Dogges* of that country are like their Wolues, and cannot barke but howle; and their wolues [are] not much bigger then our English Foxes. *Martins, Powlecats, weessels and Minkes* we know they haue, because we haue seen many of their skinnes, though very seldome any of them aliue.

Foxes.
Dogges.
Martins.
Polcats.
Weesels, and Minkes.

But one thing is strange, that we could never perceiue their vermine *destroy our hennes, egges, nor chickens*, nor do any hurt: nor their flyes nor serpents [to be] anie waie pernitious; where [as] in the South parts of *America*, they are alwaies dangerous and often deadly.

Birds. Of birds, the Eagle is the greatest deuourer. Hawkes there be of diuerse sorts as our Falconers called them, *Sparowhawkes* [**15**], *Lanarets, Goshawkes, Falcons* and *Osperayes*; but they all pray most vpon fish. *Patrridges* there are little bigger then our Quailes, wilde Turkies are as bigge as our tame. There are woosels or blackbirds with red shoulders, thrushes, and diuerse sorts of small birds, some red, some blew, scarce so bigge as a wrenne, but few in Sommer. In winter there are great plenty of Swans, Craynes gray and white with blacke wings, Herons, Geese, Brants, Ducke, Wigeon, Dotterell, Oxeies, Parrats, and Pigeons. Of all those sorts great abundance, and some other strange kinds, to vs unknowne by name. But in sommer not any, or a very few to be seene.

Fish. Of fish we were best acquainted with *Sturgeon, Grampus, Porpus, Seales, Stingraies* whose tailes are very dangerous. Brettes, mullets, white Salmonds, Trowts, Soles, Plaice, Herrings, Conyfish, Rockfish, Eeles, Lampreyes, Catfish, Shades, Pearch of 3 sorts, Crabs, Shrimps, Creuises,

Oysters, Cocles, and Muscles. But the most strange fish [1607-9]
is a smal one so like the picture of *S. George* his Dragon,
as possible can be, except his legs and wings: and the [A. 357.]
To[a]defish which will swell till it be like to brust, when it
commeth into the aire.

Concerning the entrailes of the earth little can be saide *The Rocks.*
for certainty. There wanted good Refiners: for these that
tooke vpon them to haue skill this way, tooke vp the
washings from the mounetaines and some moskered shin-
ing stones and spangles which the waters brought down;
flattering themselues in their own vaine conceits to haue
bin supposed that they were not, by the meanes of that
ore, if it proued as their arts and iudgements expected.
Only this is certaine, that many regions lying in the same
latitude, afford mines very rich of diuerse natures. The
crust also of these rockes would easily perswade a man to
beleeue there are other mines then yron and steele, if
there were but meanes and men of experience that knew
the mine from *spare.* [16]

Of their Planted fruits in Virginia and how they vse them.

THey diuide the yeare into 5. seasons. Their *How they divide the yeare.*
winter some call *Popanow*, the spring *Cattapeuk*,
the sommer *Cohattayough*, the earing of their
Corne *Nepinough*, the haruest and fall of leafe
Taquitock. From September vntill the midst of Nouember
are the chiefe Feasts and sacrifice. Then haue they
plenty of fruits as well planted as naturall, as corne greene
and ripe, fish, fowle, and wilde beastes exceeding fat.

The greatest labour they take, is in planting their corne, *How they prepare the ground*
for the country naturally is ouergrowne with wood. To
prepare the ground they bruise the barke of the trees neare
the root, then do they scortch the roots with fire that they
grow no more.

[1607-9] The next yeare with a crooked peece of wood, they beat vp the woodes by the rootes; and in that [*those*] moulds, they plant their corne. Their manner is this. They make a hole in the earth with a sticke, and into it they put 4 graines of wheat and 2 of beanes. These holes they [*p.* 358.] make 4 foote one from another. Their women and children do continually keepe it with weeding, and when it is growne midle high, they hill it about like a hop-yard.

How they plant In Aprill they begin to plant, but their chiefe plantation is in May, and so they continue till the midst of Iune. What they plant in Aprill they reape in August, for May in September, for Iune in October. Every stalke of their corne commonly beareth two eares, some 3, seldome any 4, many but one, and some none. Every eare ordinarily hath betwixt 200 and 500 graines. The stalke being green hath a sweet iuice in it, somewhat like a suger Cane, which is the cause that when they gather their corne greene, they sucke the stalkes: for as wee gather greene pease, so doe they their corne being greene, which excelleth their old.

They plant also pease they cal *Assentamens*, which are the same they cal in Italye, *Fagioli*. Their Beanes are the same the Turkes call *Garnanses*, but these they much esteeme for dainties. [**17**]

How they vse their corne. Their corne they rost in the eare greene, and bruising it in a morter with a Polt, lappe it in rowles in the leaues of their corne, and so boyle it for a daintie. They also reserue that corne late planted that will not ripe[n], by roasting it in hot ashes, the heat thereof drying it. In winter they esteeme it being boyled with beans for a rare dish, they call *Pausarowmena*. Their old wheat they first steep a night in hot water, in the morning pounding it in a morter. They vse a small basket for their Temmes, then pound againe the great, and so separating by dashing their hand in the basket, receaue the flower in a platter made of wood scraped to that forme with burning and shels. Tempering this flower with water, they make it either in cakes, couering them with ashes till they bee baked, and then washing them in faire water, they drie presently with their owne heat: or else

boyle them in water eating the broth with the bread which they call *Ponap*. [1607-9]

The grouts and peeces of the cornes remaining, by fanning in a Platter or in the wind away the branne, they boile 3 or 4 houres with water; which is an ordinary food they call *Vstatahamen*. But some more thrifty then cleanly, doe burne the core of the eare to powder which they call *Pungnough*, mingling that in their meale; but it never tasted well in bread, nor broth. [*p.* 359.]

How they vse their fish and flesh.

Their fish and flesh they boyle either very tenderly, or broyle it so long on hurdles over the fire; or else, after the *Spanish* fashion, putting it on a spit, they turne first the one side, then the other, til it be as drie as their ierkin beefe in the west *Indies*, that they may keepe it a month or more without putrifying. The broth of fish or flesh they eate as commonly as the meat.

Planted fruits.

In May also amongst their corne, they plant Pumpeons, and a fruit like vnto a muske millen, but lesse and worse; which they call *Macocks*. These increase exceedingly, and ripen in the beginning of Iuly, and continue vntil September. They plant also *Maracocks* a wild fruit like a lemmon, which also increase infinitely: they begin to ripe[n] in September [**18**] and continue till the end of October.

When all their fruits be gathered, little els they plant, and this is done by their women and children; neither doth this long suffice them: for neere 3 parts of the yeare, they only obserue times and seasons, and liue of what the Country naturally affordeth from hand to mouth, &c.

The commodities in Virginia or that may be had by industrie.

The mildnesse of the aire, the fertilitie of the soile, and the situation of the rivers are so propitious to the nature and vse of man as no place is more convenient for pleasure, profit, and mans sustenance. Vnder that latitude or climat, here will liue

[1607–9] *A proofe caitell will liue well.* any beasts, as horses, goats, sheep, asses, hens, &c. as appeared by them that were carried thither. The waters, Isles, and shoales, are full of safe harbours for ships of warre or marchandize, for boats of all sortes, for transportation or fishing, &c.

The Bay and riuers haue much marchandable fish and places fit for Salt coats, building of ships, making of iron, &c.

[¶. 360.] *The commodities.* *Muscovia* and *Polonia* doe yearely receaue many thousands, for pitch, tarre, sope ashes, Rosen, Flax, Cordage, Sturgeon, masts, yards, wainscot, Firres, glasse, and such like; also *Swethland* for iron and copper. *France* in like manner, for Wine, Canvas, and Salt; *Spaine* asmuch for Iron, Steele, Figges, Reasons, and Sackes. *Italy* with Silkes and Velvets, consumes our chiefe commodities. *Hol[l]and* maintaines it selfe by fishing and trading at our owne doores. All these temporize with other for necessities, but all as vncertaine as peace or warres: besides the charge, travell, and danger in transporting them, by seas, lands, stormes, and Pyrats. Then how much hath *Virginia* the prerogatiue of all those florishing kingdomes for the benefit of our land, whenas within one hundred miles all those are to bee had, either ready provided by nature, or else to bee prepared, were there but industrious men to labour. Only of Copper wee may doubt is wanting, but there is good probabilitie that [**19**] both copper and better munerals are there to be had for their labor. Other Countries haue it. So then here is a place a nurse for souldiers, a practise for marriners, a trade for marchants, a reward for the good, and that which is most of all, a businesse (most acceptable to God) to bring such poore infidels to the true knowledge of God and his holy Gospell.

Of the naturall Inhabitants of Virginia.

The land is not populous, for the men be fewe; their far greater number is of women and children. Within 60 miles of *Iames* Towne there are about some 5000 people, but of able men fit for their warres scarse 1500. To nourish so many together they haue yet no means, because they make so smal a benefit of their land, be it never so fertill. [1607–9]

The numbers.

6 or 700 haue beene the most [that] hath beene seene together, when they gathered themselues to *haue surprised Captaine Smyth* at *Pamavnke*, hauing but 15 to withstand the worst of their furie [*p.* 457]. As small as the proportion of ground that hath yet beene discouered, is in comparison of that yet vnknowne. The people differ very much in stature, especially in language, as before is expressed.

700 men were the most were seen together, when they thoght to haue surprised Captaine Smith.

A description of the people.

Some being very great as the *Sesquesahamocks*, others very little as the *Wighcocomocoes*: but generally tall and straight, of a comely proportion, and of a colour browne when they are of any age, but they are borne white. Their haire is generally black; but few haue any beards. The men weare halfe their heads shaven, the other halfe long. For Barbers they vse their women, who with 2 shels will grate away the haire, of any fashion they please. The women are cut in many fashions agreeable to their yeares, but ever some part remaineth long.

[*p.* 361.]

The[ir] barbers

They are very strong, of an able body and full of agilitie, able to endure to lie in the woods vnder a tree by the fire, in the worst of winter, or in the weedes and grasse, in *Ambuscado* in the Sommer.

The[ir] constitution.

They are inconstant in everie thing, but what feare constraineth them to keepe. Craftie, [**20**] timerous, quicke of apprehension and very ingenuous. Some are of disposition fearefull, some bold, most cautelous, all *Savage*. Generally covetous of copper, beads, and such like trash. They are soone moved to anger, and so malitious, that they seldome forget an iniury: they seldome steale one from another, least their coniurers should reueale it, and so they be pursued and punished. That they are thus feared is

The[ir] disposition

[1607-9] certaine, but that any can reueale their offences by coniuration I am doubtfull. Their women are carefull not to bee suspected of dishonesty without the leaue of their husbands.

The[ir] possessions Each houshold knoweth their owne lands and gardens, and most liue of their owne labours.

Their attire. For their apparell, they are some time couered with the skinnes of wilde beasts, which in winter are dressed with the haire, but in sommer without. The better sort vse large mantels of deare skins not much differing in fashion from the Irish mantels. Some imbrodered with white beads, some with copper, other painted after their manner. But the common sort haue scarce to cover their nakednesse but with grasse, the leaues of trees, or such like. We haue seen some vse mantels made of Turky feathers, so prettily wrought and wouen with threeds that nothing [*p.* 362.] could bee discerned but the feathers, that was exceeding warme and very handsome. But the women are alwaies couered about their midles with a skin and [are] very shamefast to be seene bare.

Their ornaments They adorne themselues most with copper beads and paintings. Their women some haue their legs, hands, brests and face cunningly imbrodered with diuerse workes, as beasts, serpentes, artificially wrought into their flesh with blacke spots. In each eare commonly they haue 3 great holes, whereat they hange chaines, bracelets, or copper. Some of their men weare in those holes, a smal greene and yellow coloured snake, neare halfe a yard in length, which crawling and lapping her selfe about his necke often times familiarly would kiss his lips. Others wear a dead Rat tied by the tail. Some on their heads weare the wing of a bird or some large feather, with a Rattell [**21**]. Those Rattels are somewhat like the chape of a Rapier but lesse, which they take from the taile of a snake. Many haue the whole skinne of a hawke or some strange fowle, stuffed with the wings abroad. Others a broad peece of copper, and some the hand of their enemy dryed. Their heads and shoulders are painted red with the roote *Pocone* braied to powder mixed with oyle; this they hold in somer to preserue them from the heate, and in winter from the cold. Many other formes of paintings they vse,

but he is the most gallant that is the most monstrous to behould. [1607–9]

Their buildings and habitations are for the most part by the riuers or not farre distant from some fresh spring. Their houses are built like our Arbors of small young springs [? *sprigs*] bowed and tyed, and so close covered with mats or the barkes of trees very handsomely, that notwithstanding either winde raine or weather, they are as warme as stooues, but very smoaky; yet at the toppe of the house there is a hole made for the smoake to goe into right over the fire. *Their buildings*

Against the fire they lie on little hurdles of Reedes covered with a mat, borne from the ground a foote and more by a hurdle of wood. On these round about the house, they lie heads and points one by th[e] other against the fire: some covered with mats, some with skins, and some starke naked lie on the ground; from 6 to 20 in a house. *Their lodgings.*

Their houses are in the midst of their fields or gardens; [*p.* 363.] which are smal plots of ground, some 20 [*acres p.* 363], some 40, some 100. some 200. some more, some lesse. Some times from 2 to 100 of these houses [are] togither, or but a little separated by groues of trees. Neare their habitations is [but] little small wood, or old trees on the ground, by reason of their burning of them for fire. So that a man may gallop a horse amongst these woods any waie, but where the creekes or Rivers shall hinder. *Their gardens*

Men women and children haue their severall names according to the seuerall humor of their Parents. Their women (they say) are easilie deliuered of childe, yet doe they [**22**] loue children verie dearly. To make them hardy, in the coldest mornings they wash them in the riuers, and by painting and ointments so tanne their skins, that after year or two, no weather will hurt them. *How they vse their children.*

The men bestowe their times in fishing, hunting, wars, and such manlike exercises, scorning to be seene in any woman like exercise; which is the cause that the women be verie painefull and the men often idle. The women and children do the rest of the worke. They make mats, baskets, pots, morters; pound their corne, make their bread, prepare their victuals, plant their corne, gather their corne, beare al kind of burdens, and such like. *The industry of their women.*

[1607–9] Their fire they kindle presently by chafing a dry pointed sticke in a hole of a little square peece of wood, that firing it selfe, will so fire mosse, leaues, or anie such like drie thing that will quickly burne.

How they strike fire.

Their order of diet. In March and Aprill they liue much vpon their fishing, weares; and feed on fish, Turkies and squirrels. In May and Iune they plant their fieldes; and liue most of Acornes, walnuts, and fish. But to mend their diet, some disperse themselues in small companies, and liue vpon fish, beasts, crabs, oysters, land Torteyses, strawberries, mulberries, and such like. In Iune, Iulie, and August, they feed vpon the rootes of *Tocknough*, berries, fish, and greene wheat.

It is strange to see how their bodies alter with their diet; euen as the deare and wilde beastes, they seeme fat and leane, strong and weak. *Powhatan* their great king and some others that are prouident, rost their fish and flesh vpon hurdles as before is expressed, and keepe it till scarce times.

[*p.* 364.] For fishing and hunting and warres they vse much their bow and arrowes. They bring their bowes to the forme of ours by the scraping of a shell. Their arrowes are made, some of straight young sprigs, which they head with bone some 2 or 3 inches long. These they vse to shoot at squirrels on trees. An other sort of arrowes they vse, made of reeds. These are peeced with wood, headed with splinters [**23**] of christall or some sharpe stone, the spurres of a Turkey, or the bill of some bird. For his knife, he hath the splinter of a reed to cut his feathers in forme. With this knife also, he will ioint a Deare or any beast; shape his shooes, buskins, mantels, &c. To make the noch of his arrow hee hath the tooth of a Beuer set in a sticke, wherewith he grateth it by degrees. His arrow head he quickly maketh with a little bone, which he ever weareth at his bracer, of any splint of a stone, or glasse in the forme of a hart; and these they glew to the end of their arrowes. With the sinewes of Deare, and the tops of Deares hornes boiled to a ielly, they make a glew that will not dissolue in cold water.

How they make their bowes and arrowes.

Their kniues.

Their Targets and Swords. For their wars also they vse Targets that are round and made of the barkes of trees, and a sworde of wood at their

backs, but oftentimes they vse for swords the horne of a Deare put through a peece of wood in forme of a Pickaxe. Some, a long stone sharpened at both ends vsed in the same manner. This they were wont to vse also for hatchets, but now by trucking they haue plenty of the same forme, of yron. And those are their chiefe instruments and armes. [1607–9]

Their fishing is much in Boats. These they make of one tree by bowing [? *burning*] and scratching away the coles with ston[e]s and shels till they haue made it in forme of a Trough. Some of them are an elne deepe, and 40 or 50 foot in length, and some will beare 40 men; but the most ordinary are smaller, and will beare 10, 20, or 30. according to their bignes. Insteed of oares, they vse paddles and sticks, with which they will row faster then our Barges. *Their boats*

Betwixt their hands and thighes, their women vse to spin the barks of trees, deare sinews, or a kind of grasse they call *Pemmenaw*; of these they make a thred very even and readily. This thred serveth for many vses, as about their housing, apparell; as also they make nets for fishing, for the quantity as formally braded as ours. They make also with it lines for angles. *How they spin.* [*p.* 365.]

Their hookes are either a bone grated, as they nock their arrows, in the forme of a crooked pinne or fishhook; or of the splinter [**24**] of a bone tied to the clift of a litle stick, and with the ende of the line, they tie on the bate. *Their fishhookes.*

They vse also long arrowes tyed in a line wherewith they shoote at fish in the rivers. But they of *Accawmack* vse staues like vnto Iavelins headed with bone. With these they dart fish swimming in the water. They haue also many artificiall weares in which they get abundance of fish.

In their hunting and fishing they take extreame paines; yet it being their ordinary exercise from their infancy, they esteeme it a pleasure and are very proud to be expert therein. And by their continuall ranging, and travel, they know all the advantages and places most frequented with Deare, Beasts, Fish, Foule, Rootes, and Berries. At their huntings they leaue their habitations, and reduce themselues into companies, as the *Tartars* doe, and goe to the most desert places with their families, where they spend their time in hunting and fowling vp towards the *How they hunt*

[1607-9] mountaines, by the heads of their riuers, where there is plentie of game. For betwixt the rivers, the grounds are so narrowe, that little commeth there which they devoure not. It is a marvel they can so directly passe these deserts, some 3 or 4 daies iourney without habitation. Their hunting houses are like vnto Arbours couered with mats. These their women beare after them, with Corne, Acornes, Morters, and all bag and baggage they vse. When they come to the place of exercise, euery man doth his best to shew his dexteritie, for by their excelling in those quallities, they get their wiues. Forty yards will they shoot leuell, or very neare the mark, and 120 is their best at Random. At their huntings in the deserts they are commonly 2 or 300 together. Hauing found the Deare, they enuiron them with many fires, and betwixt the fires they place themselues. And some take their stands in the midst. The Deare being thus feared by the fires and [*f.* 366.] their voices, they chace them so long within that circle, that many times they kill 6, 8, 10, or 15 at a hunting. They vse also to driue them into some narrowe point of land, [**25**] when they find that aduantage; and so force them into the riuer, where with their boats they haue *Ambuscadoes* to kill them. When they haue shot a Deare by land, they follow him like blood hounds by the blood and straine, and oftentimes so take them. Hares, Pattridges, Turkies, or Egges, fat or leane, young or old, they devoure all they can catch in their power.

In one of these huntings, they found Captaine *Smith* in the discoverie of the head of the river of *Chickahamania*, where they slew his men, and tooke him prisoner in a Bogmire; where he saw those exercises, and gathered these observations.

One Savage hunting alone. One Savage hunting alone, vseth the skinne of a Deare slit on the one side, and so put on his arme, through the neck, so that his hand comes to the head which is stuffed; and the hornes, head, eies, eares, and every part as arteficially counterfeited as they can devise. Thus shrowding his body in the skinne, by stalking he approacheth the Deare, creeping on the ground from one tree to another. If the Deare chance to find fault, or stande at gaze, hee turneth the head with his hand to his best advantage to

seeme like a Deare, also gazing and licking himselfe. So watching his best aduantage to approach, hauing shot him, hee chaseth him by his blood and straine till he get him. [1607–9]

When they intend any warres, the *Werowances* vsually haue the advice of their Priests and Coniurers, and their Allies and ancient friends; but chiefely the Priestes determine their resolution. Every *Werowance*, or some lustie fellow, they appoint Captaine over every nation. They seldome make warre for lands or goods, but for women and children, and principally for revenge. They haue many enimies, namely all their westernely Countries beyond the mountaines, and the heads of the rivers. Vpon the head of the *Powhatans* are the *Monacans*, whose chiefe habitation is at *Russawmeake*; vnto whome the *Mouhemenchughes*, the *Massinnacacks*, the *Monahassanuggs*, and other nations, pay tribut[e]s. *Their consultations.* *Their enimies*

Vpon the head of the river of *Toppahanock* is a [**26**] people called *Mannahoacks*. To these are contributers the *Tauxsnitanias*, the *Shackaconias*, the *Outponcas*, the *Tegoneaes*, the *Whonkentyaes*, the *Stegarakes*, the *Hassinnungas*, and diuerse others; all confederats with the *Monacans*, though many different in language, and be very barbarous, living for most part of wild beasts and fruits. [*p.* 367.]

Beyond the mountaines from whence is the head of the river *Patawomeke*, the Savages report, inhabit their most mortall enimies, the *Massawomekes* vpon a great salt water, which by all likelyhood is either some part of *Commada* [*i.e.*, *Canada*], some great lake, or some inlet of some sea that falleth into the South sea. These *Massawomekes* are a great nation and very populous. For the heads of all those riuers, especially the *Pattawomekes*, the *Pautuxuntes*, the *Sasquesahanocks*, the *Tockwoughes*, are continually tormented by them: of whose crueltie, they generally complained, and very importunate they were with Captaine *Smith* and his company, to free them from these tormentors. To this purpose, they offered food, conduct, assistance, and continuall subiection. *Massawomekes.* *Their offer of subiection*

To which he concluded to effect. But the counsell [*Council*] then present, emulating his successe, would not thinke it fit to spare him 40 men to be hazarded in those vnknowne regions; hauing passed (as before was spoken of) but with 12, and so was lost that opportunitie.

[1607-9] Seaven boats full of these *Massawomeks* the discouerers encountred at the head of the *Bay*; whose Targets, Baskets, Swords, Tobaccopipes, Platters, Bowes and Arrowes, and euery thing shewed, they much exceeded them of our parts: and their dexteritie in their small boats made of the barkes of trees sowed with barke, and well luted with gumme, argueth that they are seated vpon some great water.

Against all these enimies the *Powhatans* are constained sometimes to fight. Their chiefe attempts are by Stratagems, trecheries, or surprisals. Yet the *Werowances*, women and children, they put not to death; but keepe them Captiues. They haue a method in warre, and for our pleasures [**27**], they shewed it vs; and it was in this manner performed at *Mattapanient*.

Their manner of battell.

Having painted and disguised themselues in the fiercest manner they could deuise, they divided themselues into two Companies, neare a 100 in a company. The one company called *Monacans*, the other *Powhatans*. Either army had their Captaine. These as enimies tooke their stands a musket shot one from another; ranked themselves 15 a breast, and each ranke from another 4 or 5 yards; not in fyle, but in the opening betwixt their fyles, so as the Reare could shoot as conueniently as the Front.

[*p.* 368.]

Hauing thus pitched the fields; from either part went a Messenger with these conditions: that whosoever were vanquished, such as escape, vpon their submission in 2 daies after, should liue; but their wiues and children should be prize for the Conquerers.

The messengers were no sooner returned, but they approached in their orders. On each flanke a Sarieant, and in the Reare an officer for levitenant, all duly keeping their orders, yet leaping and singing after their accustomed tune, which they vse only in warres. Vpon the first flight of arrowes, they gaue such horrible shouts and screeches, as though so many infernall helhounds could not haue made them more terrible.

When they had spent their arrowes, they ioined together prettily, charging and retiring, every ranke seconding other. As they got advantage, they catched their enimies by the haire of the head; and downe he came that was

taken. His enimie with his wooden sword seemed to beat out his braines, and still they crept to the Reare, to maintaine the skirmish. [1607-9]

The *Monacans* decreasing, the *Powhatans* charged them in the forme of a halfe moone: they vnwilling to be inclosed, fled all in a troope to their *Ambuscadoes*, on whome they led them very cunningly. The *Monacans* disperse themselues among the fresh men, wherevpon the *Powhatans* retired with al speed to their seconds; which the *Monacans* seeing, took that advantage to retire againe to their owne battell, and so each [**28**] returned to their owne quarter.

All their actions, voices and gestures, both in charging and retiring, were so strained to the hight of their quallitie and nature, that the strangenes thereof made it seem very delightfull.

Their Musicke

For their musicke they vse a thicke cane, on which they pipe as on a Recorder. For their warres, they haue a great deepe platter of wood. They cover the mouth thereof with a skin, at each corner they tie a walnut, which meeting on the backside neere the bottome, with a small rope they twitch them togither till it be so tought and stiffe, that they may beat vpon it as vpon a drumme. But their chiefe instruments are Rattels made of small gourds or Pumpion shels. Of these they haue Base, Tenor, Countertenor, Meane and Trible. These mingled with their voices sometimes 20 or 30 togither, make such a terrible noise as would rather affright then delight any man. [*p.* 369.]

Their entertainment.

If any great commander arriue at the habitation of a *Werowance*, they spread a mat as the Turkes do a carpet, for him to sit vpon. Vpon an other right opposite they sit themselues. Then doe all with a tunable voice of showting bid him welcome. After this, doe 2. or more of their chiefest men make an oration, testifying their loue. Which they do with such vehemency and so great passions, that they sweate till they drop; and are so out of breath they can scarce speake. So that a man would take them to be exceeding angry or starke mad. Such victuall as they haue, they spend freely; and at night where his lodging is appointed, they set a woman fresh painted red with *Pocones* and oile, to be his bedfellow.

[1607-9] Their manner of trading is for copper, beades, and such
Their trade. like; for which they giue such commodities as they haue, as skins, fowle, fish, flesh, and their country corne. But their victuall is their chiefest riches.

Their phisicke. Every spring they make themselues sicke with drinking the iuice of a root they call *wighsacan*, and water; whereof they powre so great a quantity, that it purgeth them in a very violent maner; so that in 3 or 4 daies after, they scarce [29] recover their former health.

Their chirurgery. Sometimes they are troubled with dropsies, swellings, aches, and such like diseases; for cure wherof they build a stoue in the form of a douehouse with mats, so close that a fewe coales therein covered with a pot, will make the pacient sweate extreamely. For swellings also they vse smal peeces of touchwood, in the forme of cloues, which pricking on the griefe, they burne close to the flesh, and from thence draw the corruption with their mouth. With this root *wighsacan* they ordinarily heal greene wounds: but to scarrifie a swelling or make incision, their best
[*p.* 370.] instruments are some splinted stone. Old vlcers or putrified hurtes are seldome seene cured amongst them.

Their charmes to cure. They haue many professed Phisitions, who with their charmes and Rattels, with an infernall rowt of words and actions, will seeme to sucke their inwarde griefe from their navels or their grieved places; but of our Chirurgians they were so conceipted, that they beleeued any Plaister would heale any hurt.

Of their Religion.

There is yet in *Virginia* no place discouered to bee so *Savage* in which the *Savages* haue not a religion, Deare, and Bow and Arrowes. All thinges that were able to do them hurt beyond their prevention, they adore with their kinde of divine worship; as the fire, water, lightning, thunder, our ordinance, peeces, horses, &c.

But their chiefe God they worship is the Diuell. Him they call *Oke* and serue him more of feare than loue. They say they haue conference with him, and fashion themselues as neare to his shape as they can imagine. In their Temples, they haue his image euill favouredly carued, and then painted and adorned with chaines, copper, and beades; and couered with a skin, in such manner as the deformity may well suit with such a God. [1607–9] *Their God.*

By him is commonly the sepulcher of their kings. Their bodies are first bowelled, then dryed vpon hurdles till they bee verie dry, and so about the most of their iointes and necke they hang bracelets or chaines of copper, pearle, and such like, [**30**] as they vse to weare: their inwards they stuffe with copper beads and couer with a skin, hatchets, and such trash. Then lappe they them very carefully in white skins, and so rowle them in mats for their winding sheetes. And in the Tombe, which is an arch made of mats, they lay them orderly. What remaineth of this kinde of wealth their kings haue, they set at their feet in baskets. These Temples and bodies are kept by their Priests. *How they bury their kings.* [*p.* 371.]

For their ordinary burials, they digge a deep hole in the earth with sharpe stakes; and the corp[s]es being lapped in skins and mats with their iewels, they lay them vpon sticks in the ground, and so couer them with earth. The buriall ended, the women being painted all their faces with black cole and oile, doe sit 24 howers in the houses mourning and lamenting by turnes, with such yelling and howling as may expresse their great passions. *Their ordinary burials.*

In every Territory of a *werowance* is a Temple and a Priest [or] 2 or 3 or more. Their principall Temple or place of superstition is at *Vttamussack* at *Pamavnke*, neare vnto which is a house Temple or place of *Powhatans*. *Their Temples.*

Vpon the top of certaine redde sandy hils in the woods, there are 3 great houses filled with images of their kings and Divels and Tombes of their Predecessors. Those houses are neare 60 foot in length, built arbor wise, after their building. This place they count so holy as that [none] but the Priestes and kings dare come into them: nor the *Savages* dare not go vp the river in boats by it, but that they solemnly cast some peece of copper, white beads, or

[1607-9] *Pocones*, into the river, for feare their *Oke* should be offended and revenged of them.

Their ornaments for their Priests

In this place commonly is resident 7 Priests. The chiefe differed from the rest in his ornaments: but inferior Priests could hardly be knowne from the common people, but that they had not so many holes in their eares to hang their iewels at.

The ornaments of the chiefe Priest was certain attires for his head made thus. They tooke a dosen or 16 or [31] more snake skins, and stuffed them with mosse; and of weesels and other vermine skins, a good many. All these [*p.* 372.] they tie by their tailes, so as all their tailes meete in the toppe of their head, like a great Tassell. Round about this Tassell is as it were a crown of feathers; the skins hang round about his head necke and shoulders, and in a manner cover his face.

The faces of all their Priests are painted as vgly as they can devise. In their hands, they had every one his Rattell, some base, some smaller [*i.e.*, *lighter in sound*]. Their devotion was most in songs which the chiefe Priest beginneth and the rest followed him: sometimes he maketh invocations with broken sentences, by starts and strange passions, and at every pause, the rest giue a short groane.

Their times of solemnities.

It could not bee perceiued that they keepe any day as more holy then other: but only in some great distresse, of want, feare of enimies, times of triumph and gathering togither their fruits, the whole country of men women and children come togither to solemnities. The manner of their devotion is sometimes to make a great fire in the house or fields, and all to sing and dance about it, with rattles and shouts togither, 4 or 5 houres. Sometimes they set a man in the midst, and about him they dance and sing; he all the while clapping his hands as if he would keepe time. And after their songs and dauncings ended, they goe to their Feasts.

They haue also diuers coniurations. One they made when Captaine *Smith* was their prisoner; (as they reported) to know if any more of his countrymen would ariue there, and what he there intended. The manner of it was thus.

First they made a faire fire in a house. About this fire set 7 Priests setting him by them; and about the fire,

they made a circle of meale. That done, the chiefe Priest attired as is expressed [above], began to shake his rattle; and the rest followed him in his song. At the end of the song, he laid downe 5 or 3 graines of wheat, and so continued counting his songs by the graines, till 3 times they incirculed the fire. Then they divide [**32**] the graines by certaine numbers with little stickes, laying downe at the ende of euery song a little sticke. [1607-9]

In this manner, they sat 8, 10, or 12 houres without cease, with such strange stretching of their armes, and violent passions and gestures as might well seeme strange to him they so coniured; who but euery houre expected his end. Not any meat they did eat till, late in the evening, they had finished this worke: and then they feasted him and themselues with much mirth. But 3 or 4 daies they continued this ceremony.

Their altars.

They haue also certaine Altar stones they call *Pawcorances*: but these stand from their Temples, some by their houses, other in the woodes and wildernesses. Vpon these, they offer blood, deare suet, and Tobacco. These they doe when they returne from the warres, from hunting, and vpon many other occasions. [*p.* 373.]

Sacrifices to the water.

They haue also another superstition that they vse in stormes, when the waters are rough in the riuers and sea coasts. Their Coniurers runne to the water sides, or passing in their boats, after many hellish outcries and invocations, they cast Tobacco, Copper, *Pocones*, and such trash into the water, to pacifie that God whome they thinke to be very angry in those stormes.

Before their dinners and suppers, the better sort will take the first bit, and cast it in the fire; which is all the grace they are known to vse.

Their solemne sacrifices of children.

In some part of the Country, they haue yearely a sacrifice of children. Such a one was at *Quiyoughcohanock*, some 10 miles from *Iames* Towne, and thus performed.

Fifteene of the properest young boyes, betweene 10 and 15 yeares of age, they painted white. Hauing brought them forth, the people spent the forenoone in dancing and singing about them with rattles.

In the afternoone, they put those children to the roote of a tree. By them, all the men stood in a guard, every one

[1607-9] hauing a Bastinado in his hand, made of reeds bound together. This [*these*] made a lane betweene them all along, through which there were appointed 5 young men [**33**] to fetch these children. So every one of the fiue went through the guard, to fetch a child, each after other by turnes: the guard fearelessly beating them with their Bastinadoes, and they patiently enduring and receauing all; defending the children with their naked bodies from the vnmercifull blowes they pay them soundly, though the children escape. All this while, the women weepe and crie out very passionately; prouiding mats, skinnes, mosse, and drie wood, as things fitting their childrens funerals.

After the children were thus passed the guard, the guard tore down the tree, branches and boughs, with such violence, that they rent the body, and made wreathes for [*p.* 374.] their heads, or bedecked their haire with the leaues. What else was done with the children was not seene; but they were all cast on a heape in a valley, as dead: where they made a great feast for al the company.

The *Werowance* being demanded the meaning of this sacrifice, answered that the children were not al dead, but [only] that the *Oke* or *Divell* did sucke the blood from their left breast [of those], who chanced to be his by lot, till they were dead. But the rest were kept in the wildernesse by the yong men till nine moneths were expired, during which time they must not conuerse with any: and of these, were made their Priests and Coniurers.

This sacrifice they held to bee so necessarie, that if they should omit it, their *Oke* or Divel and all their other *Quiyoughcosughes* (which are their other Gods) would let them haue no Deare, Turkies, Corne, nor fish: and yet besides, hee would make great slaughter amongst them.

Their resurrection. They thinke that their *Werowances* and Priestes, which they also esteeme *Quiyoughcosughes*, when they are dead, doe goe beyound the mountaines towardes the setting of the sun, and euer remaine there in forme of their *Oke*, with their heads painted with oile and *Pocones*, finely trimmed with feathers; and shal haue beades, hatchets, copper, and tobacco, doing nothing but dance and sing with all their Predecessors.

But the common people, they suppose [**34**] shall not liue after death. [1607-9]

To diuert them from this blind idolatrie, many vsed their best indeauours, chiefly with the *Werowances* of *Quiyoughcohanock*; whose devotion, apprehension, and good disposition much exceeded any in those Countries: who though we could not as yet preuaile withall to forsake his false Gods, yet this he did beleeue, that our God as much exceeded theirs, as our Gunnes did their Bowes and Arrows; and many times did send to the President, at *Iames* towne, men with presents, intreating them to pray to his God for raine, for his Gods would not send him any.

And in this lamentable ignorance doe these poore soules sacrifice themselues to the Diuell, not knowing their Creator.

Of the manner of the Virginians governement. [*P.* 375.]

Although the countrie people be very barbarous; yet haue they amongst them such governement, as that their Magistrat[e]s for good commanding, and their people for du[e] subiection and obeying, excell many places that would be counted very civill.

The forme of their Common wealth is a monarchicall gouernement. One as Emperour ruleth ouer many kings or governours. Their chiefe ruler is called *Powhatan*, and taketh his name of the principall place of dwelling called *Powhatan*. But his proper name is *Wahunsonacock*.

Some countries he hath, which haue been his ancestors, and came vnto him by inheritance, as the countrie called *Powhatan*, *Arrohateck*, *Appamatuke*, *Pamavnke*, *Youghtanu*[*n*]*d*, and *Mattapanient*. All the rest of his Territories expressed in the Map, they report haue beene his seuerall conquests.

In all his ancient inheritances, hee hath houses built after their manner like arbours; some 30, some 40 yardes long; and at euery house, provision for his entertainement, according to the time. At *Werowcomoco*, he was seated vpon the North side of the riuer *Pamavnke*, some 14 miles

[1607–9] from *Iames* Towne; where for the most part, hee was resident, but he tooke so little pleasure in our neare neighbourhood [**35**], that were able to visit him against his will in 6 or 7 houres, that he retired himself [*in Jan.* 1609, *see p.* 146] to a place in the deserts at the top of the riuer *Chickahamania* betweene *Youghtanund* and *Powhatan*. His habitation there is called *Orapacks*, where he ordinarily now resideth.

A description of Powhatan. He is of parsonage a tall well proportioned man, with a sower looke; his head somwhat gray, his beard so thinne that it seemeth none at al. His age neare 60; of a very able and hardy body to endure any labour. About his person ordinarily attendeth a guard of 40 or 50 of the tallest men his Country doth afford. Every night vpon the 4 quarters of his house are 4 Sentinels, each standing from other a flight shoot: and at euery halfe houre, one from the Corps du guard doth hollowe; vnto whom every Sentinell doth answer round from his stand. If any faile, they presently send forth an officer that beateth him extreamely.

[*p.* 376.]

His attendance and watch.

His treasurie. A mile from *Orapakes* in a thicket of wood, hee hath a house, in which he keepeth his kind of Treasure, as skinnes, copper, pearle, and beades; which he storeth vp against the time of his death and buriall. Here also is his store of red paint for ointment, and bowes and arrowes. This house is 50 or 60 yards in length, frequented only by Priestes. At the 4 corners of this house stand 4 Images as Sentinels; one of a Dragon, another a Beare, the 3 like a Leopard, and the fourth like a giantlike man: all made euill favordly, according to their best workmanship.

His wiues. He hath as many women as he will: whereof when hee lieth on his bed, one sitteth at his head, and another at his feet; but when he sitteth, one sitteth on his right hand, and another on his left. As he is wearie of his women, hee bestoweth them on those that best deserue them at his hands.

When he dineth or suppeth, one of his women, before and after meat, bringeth him water in a wo[o]den platter to wash his hands. Another waiteth with a bunch of feathers to wipe them insteed of a Towell, and the feathers when he hath wiped are dryed againe.

His kingdome descendeth [36] not to his sonnes nor children: but first to his brethren, whereof he hath 3. namely *Opitchapan*, *Opechancanough*, and *Catataugh*; and after their decease to his sisters. First to the eldest sister, then to the rest: and after them to the heires male and female of the eldest sister; but never to the heires of the males. [1607–9] *His successors*

[Neither] He nor any of his people vnderstand any letters wherby to write or read; the only lawes whereby he ruleth is custome. Yet when he listeth, his will is a law and must bee obeyed: not only as a king, but as halfe a God they esteeme him. *His authority* [*f.* 377.]

His inferiour kings whom they cal *werowances* are tyed to rule by customes, and haue power of life and death as their command in that nature. But this word *Werowance* which we call and conster for a king, is a common worde whereby they call all commanders: for they haue but fewe words in their language, and but few occasions to vse anie officers more then one commander, which commonly they call *werowances*.

They all knowe their severall landes, and habitations, and limits to fish, fowle, or hunt in: but they hold all of their great *Werowances Powhatan*, vnto whome they pay tribute of skinnes, beades, copper, pearle, deare, turkies, wild beasts, and corne. What he commandeth they dare not disobey in the least thing. It is strange to see with what great feare and adoration all these people doe obay this *Powhatan*. For at his feet, they present whatsoever he commandeth, and at the least frowne of his browe, their greatest spirits will tremble with feare: and no maruell, for he is very terrible and tyrannous in punishing such as offend him. *The tenor* [tenure] *of their land*

For example, hee caused certaine malefactors to be bound hand and foot, then hauing of many fires gathered great store of burning coles, they rake these coles round in the forme of a cockpit, and in the midst they cast the offenders to broyle to death. Sometimes he causeth the heads of them that offend him, to be laid vpon the altar or sacrificing stone, and one with clubbes beates out their braines. When he would punish any notorious enimie or malefactor [37], he causeth him to be tied to a tree, and, with muscle shels or reeds, the executioner cutteth of[f] *His maner of punishments.*

[1607–9] his ioints one after another, euer casting what they cut of[f] into the fire; then doth he proceed with shels and reeds to case the skinne from his head and face; then doe they rip his belly, and so burne him with the tree and all.

[*pp.* 98, 395.] Thus themselues reported they executed *George Cassen.*

Their ordinary correction is to beate them with cudgels. Wee haue seene a man kneeling on his knees; and at *Powhatans* command, two men haue beat him on the bare skin, till he hath fallen senselesse in a s[w]ound, and yet

[*p.* 378.] neuer cry nor complained.

In the yeare 1608, hee surprised the people of *Payankatank*, his neare neighbours and subiects. The occasion was to vs vnknowne, but the manner was thus. First he sent diverse of his men as to lodge amongst them that night, then the *Ambuscadoes* inuironed al their houses, and at the houre appointed, they all fell to the spoile: 24 men they slewe, the long haire of the one side of their heades with the skinne cased off with shels or reeds, they brought away. They surprised also the women and the children and the *Werowance.* All these they present[ed] to *Powhatan.* The *Werowance*, women and children became his prisoners, and doe him service.

The lockes of haire with their skinnes he hanged on a line vnto two trees. And thus he made ostentation as of a great triumph at *Werowocomoco*; shewing them to the English men that then came vnto him, at his appointment: they expecting provision; he, to betray them [? *Captain Smith's visit*, 12 *Jan.* 1609, *see p.* 133] [and] supposed to halfe conquer them, by this spectacle of his terrible crueltie.

And this is as much as my memory can call to mind worthie of note; which I haue purposely collected, to satisfie my friends of the true worth and qualitie of *Virginia.* Yet some bad natures will not sticke to slander the Countrey, that will slovenly spit at all things, especially in company where they can find none to contradict them. Who though they were scarse euer 10 miles from *Iames* Town, or at the most but at the falles; yet holding it a great disgrace that [**38**] amongst so much

action, their actions were nothing, exclaime of all things, [1607-9] though they never adventured to knowe any thing; nor euer did any thing but devoure the fruits of other mens labours. Being for most part of such tender educations and small experience in martiall accidents: because they found not English cities, nor such faire houses, nor at their owne wishes any of their accustomed dainties, with feather beds and downe pillowes, Tavernes and alehouses in every breathing place, neither such plenty of gold and [*p.* 379.] siluer and dissolute liberty as they expected, [they] had little or no care of any thing, but to pamper their bellies, to fly away with our Pinnaces, or procure their means to returne for England. For the Country was to them a miserie, a ruine, a death, a hell; and their reports here, and their owne actions there according.

Some other there were that had yearely stipends to pass to and againe for transportation: who to keepe the mystery of the businesse in themselues, though they had neither time nor meanes to knowe much of themselues; yet al mens actions or relations they so formally tuned to the temporizing times simplicitie, as they could make their ignorances seeme much more then al the true actors could by their experience. And those with their great words deluded the world with such strange promises as abused the businesse much worse then the rest. For the businesse being builded vpon the foundation of their fained experience, the planters, the mony, tinne [*time*], and meanes haue still miscaried: yet they ever returning, and the Planters so farre absent, who could contradict their excuses? which, stil to maintain their vaineglory and estimation, from time to time they haue vsed such diligence as made them passe for truthes, though nothing more false. And that the adventurers might be thus abused, let no man wonder; for the wisest liuing is soonest abused by him that hath a faire tongue and a dissembling heart.

There were many in *Virginia* meerely proiecting verbal [**39**] and idle contemplatours, and those so deuoted to pure idlenesse that though they had lived two or three yeares in *Virginia* lordly, necessitie it selfe could not compell them to passe the *Peninsula*, or *Pallisadoes* of *Iames* Towne; and those wittie spirits, what would they not affirme in

[1607-9] the behalfe of our transporters, to get victuall from their ships, or obtaine their good words in *England* to get their passes?

Thus from the clamors and the ignorance of false informers are sprung those disasters that spring in *Virginia*; and our ingenious verbalists were no lesse plague to vs in *Virginia*, then the Locusts to the Egyptians. For the labour of 30 of the best only, preserued in Chris-
[A. 380.] tianitie, by their industrie, the idle livers of neare 200 of the rest: who liued neer 10 months of such naturall meanes, as the Country naturally of it selfe afforded.

Notwithstanding all this, and the worst furie of the Savages, the extremitie of sicknesse, mutinies, faction, ignorances, and want of victuall; in all that time I lost but 7 or 8 men: yet subiected the Savages to our desired obedience, and receaued contribution from 35 of their kings, to protect and assist them against any that should assalt them; in which order they continued true and faithful, and as subjects to his Maiestie, so long after as I did gouern there, vntill I left the Country:

Since, how they haue revolted, the Countrie lost, and againe replanted; and [how] the businesses hath succeeded from time to time, I referre you to the relations of them returned from *Virginia*, that haue bin more diligent in such observations.

FINIS.

THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE ENGLISH COLONIE IN Virginia since their first beginning from England in the yeare of our Lord 1606, *till this present* 1612, *with all their accidents that befell them in their Iournies and Discoveries.*

Also the Salvages discourses, orations and relations of the Bordering neighbours, and how they became subiect to the English.

Unfolding even the fundamentall causes from whence haue sprang so many miseries to the vndertakers, and scandals to the businesse: taken faithfully as they were written out of the writings of Thomas Studley the first provant maister, Anas Todkill, Walter Russell Doctor of Phisicke, Nathaniell Powell, William Phettyplace, Richard Wyffin, Thomas Abbay, Tho: Hope, Rich: Pots and the labours of divers other diligent observers, that were residents in Virginia.

And pervsed and confirmed by diverse now resident in England that were actors in this busines.

By W. S.

AT OXFORD,
Printed by Joseph Barnes. 1612.

[T. ABBAY states, on the opposite page, respecting this second Part,

Neither am I the author, for they are many, whose particular discourses are signed by their names. This solid treatise, first was compiled by Richard Pots, *since passing the hands of many to pervse, chancing into my hands, (for that I know them honest men, and can partly well witnesse their relations true) I could do no lesse in charity to the world then reveale; nor in conscience, but approve.*

This Part is therefore the Vindication or Manifesto of the thirty or forty Gentlemen and Soldiers, who, under SMITH, saved the Colony *pp.* 155, 472, 930. So far therefore, it is an *ex parte* statement: but we have taken the edge off that objection, by printing at *pp.* xxxiii–cxiv of the Introduction all the documents, written by the other side that perished, which we could readily find. It will be seen that these introductory pieces illuminate and illustrate, rather than contradict, what follows.

This second Part of the *Map of Virginia*, compiled, and perhaps added to, by RICHARD POTS, *p.* 169; tested and revised by the Rev. WILLIAM SIMMONDS, D.D., *p.* 174; and published by T. ABBAY; is a condensed summary of the sayings and writings of the following seven Virginian Colonists:

GENTLEMEN.

Original Planters, 1607.

NATHANIEL POWELL (killed in the Massacre, 22 March 1622, *pp.* 575, 583), *pp.* 93, 120.

THOMAS STUDLEY, Cape Merchant or Colonial Storekeeper (who died 28 August 1607, *p.* lxxii), *pp.* 93, 99, 107.

First Supply, 1608.

WILLIAM PHETTIPLACE, *pp.* 107, 148, 169, 185.

Dr. WALTER RUSSELL, *pp.* 108, 115.

RICHARD WIFFIN, *pp.* 108, 148, 185.

Second Supply, 1609.

THOMAS ABBAY, *pp.* 42, 88, 129, 445.

SOLDIER.

Original Planter, 1607.

ANAS TODKILL, *pp.* 94, 107, 115, 120, 148.

In the revision of this text in the *General History*, Lib. 3, in 1624; the testimonies of eight other Gentlemen were incorporated (not *invented* as some would think), for which see *p.* 384.

It is to be especially noted that, while he would endorse it all, Captain SMITH is not named as an author of *any portion* of this Second Part, either in the title in the previous page or in the text itself: therefore no allusion to the POCAHONTAS deliverance should be expected in it; and there is none.]

TO THE READER.

LOng hath the world longed, but to be truely satisfied what Virginia is, with the truth of those proceedings, from whence hath flowne so manie reports of worth, and yet few good effects of the charge, which hath caused suspition in many well willers that desire yet but to be truely satisfied therein. If any can resolue this doubt it is those that haue lived residents in the land: not sa[i]lers, or passengers, nor such mercinary contemplators, that only bedeck themselues with others plumes. This discourse is not from such, neither am I the author, for they are many, whose particular discourses are signed by their names. This solid treatise, first was compiled by Richard Pots, since passing the hands of many to pervse, chancing into my hands, (for that I know them honest men, and can partly well witnesse their relations true) I could do no lesse in charity to the world then reveale; nor in conscience, but approue. By the advise of many graue and vnderstanding gentlemen, that haue pressed it to the presse, it was thought fit to publish it, rather in it[s] owne rude phrase then other waies. For that nothing can so purge that famous action from the infamous scandal some ignorantly haue conceited, as the plaine simple and naked truth. For defect whereof the businesse is still suspected, the [1612]

[1612] *truth vnknowne, and the best deservers discouraged, and neglected, some by false reports, others by coniecture, and such power hath flattry to ingender of those, hatred and affection, that one is sufficient to beguile more then* 500 *can keepe from being deceiued.*

But this discourse is no Iudge of mens manners, nor catalogue of their former courses; only a reporter of their actions in Virginia, not to disgrace any, accuse any, excuse any, nor flatter any; for which cause there is no wrong done but this, shortnesse in complaining, and so sparing in commending as only the reader may perceiue the truth for his paines, aud the action purged of foule slander; it can detract from none that intendeth there to adventure their fortunes; and to speake truly of the first planters, that brake the yce and beate the path, howsoeuer many difficulties obscured their inde[*a*]*vours, he were worse then the worst of Ingrates, that would not spare them* [their] *memory that haue buried themselues in those forrain regions. From whose first adventures may spring more good blessings then are yet conceived. So I rest thine, that will read, pervse, and vnderstand me. If you finde false orthography or broken English, they are small faultes in souldiers, that not being able to write learnedly, onlie striue to speake truely, and be vnderstood without an Interpreter.*

T. Abbay.

THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE ENGLISH COLONY IN Virginia, taken faithfully out of the writings of *Thomas Studly*, Cape-marchant, *Anas Todkill*, Doctor *Russell*, *Nathaniell Powell*, *William Phetiplace*, and *Richard Pot*[*s*], with the laboures of other discreet observers, during their residences.

CHAPTER I.

IT might wel be thought, a countrie so faire (as *Virginia* is) and a people so tractable, would long ere this haue beene quietly possessed, to the satisfaction of the adventurers, and the eternizing of the memorie of those that affected it. But because all the world doe see a defailement; this following Treatise shall giue satisfaction to all indifferent readers, how the businesse hath beene carried, where no doubt they will easily vnderstand and answer to their question, howe it came to passe there was no better speed and successe in those proceedings. [1606-7] [*f.* 385.]

Captaine *Bartholomew Gosnold*, the first mover of this plantation, hauing many yeares solicited many of his friends, but found small assistants; at last prevailed with some Gentlemen, as Maister *Edward maria Wingfield*, Captaine *Iohn Smith*, and diverse others, who depended a *The first mouer of the action*

[1606-7] yeare vpon his proiects, but nothing could be effected, till
[*p.* 386.] by their great charge and industrie it came to be apprehended by certaine of the Nobilitie, [2] Gentrie, and Marchants, so that his Maiestie by his letters patent, gaue commission for establishing Councels, to direct here, and to governe and to execute there. To effect this, was spent another yeare; and by that time, three ships were provided, one of 100 Tonns, another of 40. and a Pinnace of 20. The transportation of the company was committed to Captaine *Christopher Newport*, a Marriner well practised
Orders for government. for the westerne parts of *America*. But their orders for gouernement were put in a box, not to be opened, nor the governours knowne vntill they arived in *Virginia*.

On the 19 of December, 1606. we set saile, but by vnprosperous winds, were kept six weekes in the sight of
[*pp.* 93, 99, 103, 386, 389, 402, 407.] England; all which time, *Maister Hunt* our Preacher, was so weake and sicke, that few expected his recoverie. Yet although he were but 10 or 12 miles from his habitation (the time we were in the Downes), and notwithstanding the stormie weather, nor the scandalous imputations (of some few, little better then Atheists, of the greatest ranke amongst vs) suggested against him; all this could never force from him so much as a seeming desire to leaue the busines; but preferred the service of God, in so good a voyage, before any affection to contest with his godlesse foes, whose disasterous designes (could they haue prevailed) had even then overthrowne the businesse: so many discontents did then arise; had he not, with the water of patience, and his godly exhortations (but chiefly by his true devoted examples) quenched those flames of envie, and dissention. [3]

Wee watred at the Canaries; wee traded with the Salvages at *Dominica*; three weekes we spent in refreshing our selu[e]s amongst these west-India Iles; in *Gwardalupa* we found a bath so hot, as in it we boiled porck as well
Monica an vnfrequented Ile full of birds. as over the fire. And at the little Ile called *Monica*, we tooke from the bushes with our hands, neare 2 hogsheads full of birds in 3 or 4 houres. In *Mevis*, *Mona*, and the Virgin Iles, we spent some time, where with a lothsome beast like a Crocadil, called a Gwayn [*Iguana*], Tortoses, Pellicans, Parrots, and fishes, we daily feasted.

Gone from thence in search of *Virginia*, the company was not a little discomforted, seeing the Marriners had three daies passed their reckoning, and found no land; so that Captaine *Ratcliffe* (Captaine of the Pinnace) rather desired to beare vp the helme to returne for England, then make further search. But God, the guider of all good actions, forcing them by an extream[e] storme to hul[l] all night, did driue them by his providence to their desired port, beyond all their expectations: for never any of them had seene that coast. **[1607]** [*p.* 387.]

The first land they made, they called *Cape Henry*; where anchoring, *Maister Wingfield*, *Gosnoll*, and *Newport*, with 30 others, recreating themselues on shore, were assalted by 5 Salvages; who hurt 2 of the English very dangerously. *Their first landing.* [*pp.* 5, 387.]

That night [26 *April* 1607], was the box opened, and the orders read: in which *Bartholomew Gosnoll*, *Edward Wingfield*, *Christopher Newport*, *Iohn Smith*, *Iohn Rat*[c]*liffe*, *Iohn Martin*, and *George Kendall*, were named to bee the Councell, and to choose a President amongst them for a yeare, who with the Councell should governe. Matters of moment were to be examined by a Jurie, [4] but determined by the major part of the Councell in which the Precedent had 2 voices. *Matters of governmen*[t]

Vntill the 13 of May, they sought a place to plant in: then the Councell was sworne, Maister *Wingfield* was chosen Precident, and an oration made, whie Captaine *Smith* was not admitted of the Councell as the rest [*p.* 6.]

Now falleth every man to worke, the Councell contriue the Fort, the rest cut downe trees to make place to pitch their Tents; some provide clapbord to relade the ships; some make gardens, some nets, &c. The Salvages often visited vs kindly. The Precidents overweening iealousie would admit no exercise at armes, or fortification but the boughs of trees cast together in the forme of a halfe moone by the extraordinary paines and diligence of Captaine *Kendall*.

Newport, with *Smith*, and 20 others, were sent to discover the head of the river. By divers smal habitations they passed. In 6 daies they arrived [*the writer of this passage was evidently not in this expedition; and is therefore probably T. Studley*] at a towne called *Powhatan*, consisting [*p.* 6.] *The discouery of the Falles and Powhatan.*

[1607] of some 12 houses pleasantly seated on a hill: before it, 3 fertil[e] Iles, about it many of their cornefields. The place is very pleasant, and strong by nature. Of this place, the Prince is called *Powhatan*, and his people *Powhatans*.

[*p.* 388.] To this place, the riuer is navigable; but higher within a mile, by reason of the Rockes and Iles, there is not passage for a smal boate: this they call the Falles. The people in al parts kindly intreated them, til being returned within 20 miles of *Iames* towne, they gave iust cause of iealousie. But had God not blessed the discoverers otherwise then those at the fort, there had then beene an end of that plantation. For at the fort, where they arived the next day, [**5**] they found 17 men hurt, and a boy slaine by the Salvages. And had it not chanced a crosse barre shot from the ships strooke down a bough from a tree amongst them, that caused them to retire, our men had all been slaine; being securely all at worke, and their armes in drie fats.

The Fort assalted by the Salvages.

[*p.* 7.]

[*p.* 8.] Herevpon the President was contented the Fort should be pallisadoed, the ordinance mounted, his men armed and exercised: for many were the assaults and Ambuscadoes of the Salvages; and our men by their disorderly stragling were often hurt, when the Salvages by the nimblenesse of their heeles well escaped.

What toile wee had, with so smal a power to guard our workmen adaies, watch al night, resist our enimies and effect our businesse, to relade the ships, cut downe trees, and prepare the ground to plant our corne, &c., I referre to the readers consideration.

Six weekes being spent in this manner, Captaine *Newport* (who was hired only for our transportation) was to return with the ships.

Now Captaine *Smith*, who all this time from their departure from the Canaries, was restrained [24*Mar.p.* lvii] as a prisoner, vpon the scandalous suggestions of some of the chiefe (envying his repute); who fained he intended to vsurpe the governement, murder the Councell, and make himselfe king; that his confederat[e]s were dispearsed in all the three ships, and that divers of his confederat[e]s that revealed it, would affirme it: for this he was committed.

13 weekes he remained thus suspected; and by that time the ships should returne, they pretended, out of their

commisserations, to referre him to the Councell in England, to receaue a [6] check; rather then by particulating his designes, make him so odious to the world, as to touch his life, or vtterly overthrowe his reputation. [1607] [p. 389.]

But he much scorned their charitie, and publikely defied the vttermost of their crueltie. Hee wisely prevented their pollicies, though he could not suppresse their envies: yet so wel he demeaned himselfe in this busines, as all the company did see his innocencie, and his adversaries malice; and those suborned to accuse him, accused his accusers of subornation. Many vntruthes were alleaged against him; but being so apparently disproved begat a generall hatred in the h[e]arts of the company against such vniust commanders.

Many were the mischiefes that daily sprong from their ignorant (yet ambitious) spirits; but the good doctrine and exhortation of our preacher Maister *Hunt* reconciled them, and caused Captaine *Smith* to be admitted of the Councell [20 *June*]. [pp. 90, 99, 103, 386, 407.]

The next day all receaved the Communion: the day following the Salvages voluntarily desired peace, and Captaine *Newport* returned for England with newes; leaving in *Virginia*, 100. the 15 [*or rather* 22] of Iune 1607. *Captaine Newports returne for England.* [p. 8.]

The names of them that were the first planters, *were these following.*

Councell. [7]

- *Maister Edward Maria Wingfield.*
- Captaine *Bartholomew Gosnoll.*
- Captaine *Iohn Smyth.*
- Captaine *Iohn Rat[c]liffe.*
- Captaine *Iohn Martin.*
- Captaine *George Kendall.*

Gent.

- *Maister Robert Hunt* Preacher.
- *Maister George Percie.*
- *Anthony Gosnoll.*
- Captaine *Gabriell Archer.*

Gent.

- *Robert Ford.*
- *William Bruster.*
- *Dru[e] Pickhouse.*
- *Iohn Brookes.*
- *Thomas Sands.*
- *Iohn Robinson.*
- *Vstis Clovill.*
- *Kellam Throgmorton.*
- *Nathaniell Powell.*
- *Robert Behethland.*
- *Ieremy Alicock.*
- *Thomas Studley.*
- *Richard Crofts.*

[p. 390.]

[1607] *Nicholas Houlgraue.*
Thomas Webbe:
Iohn Waler.
William Tankard.
Francis Snarsbrough.
Edward Brookes.
Richard Dixon.
Iohn Martin.
George Martin.
Anthony Gosnold.
Thomas Wotton, Sierg.
Thomas Gore.
Francis Midwinter.
} Gent. [8]

William Laxon.
Edward Pising.
Thomas Emry.
Robert Small.
} Carpenters.

Anas Todkill.
Iohn Capper.
Iames Read, Blacksmith.
Ionas Profit, Sailer.
Thomas Couper, Barber.

Iohn Herd, Bricklayer.
William Garret, Bricklayer.
Edward Brinto, Mason.
William Loue, Taylor.
Nicholas Skot, Drum[mer].

Iohn Laydon.
William Cassen.
George Cassen.
Thomas Cassen.
William Rods.
William White.
Ould Edward.
Henry Tauin.
George Golding.
Iohn Dods.
William Iohnson.
William Vnger.
} Labourers.

William Wilkinson, Surgeon.

Samuell Collier.
Nathaniel Pecock.
Iames Brumfield.
Richard Mutton.
} Boyes.

with diverse others, to the number of 105. [9]

[p. 391.]

CHAPTER II.

What happened till the first supply.

BEing thus left to our fortunes, it fortuned that, within tenne daies, scarse ten amongst vs coulde either goe, or well stand; such extreame weaknes and sicknes oppressed vs. And thereat none need mervaile, if they consider the cause and reason; which was this.

Whilest the ships staied, our allowance was somewhat

bettered by a daily proportion of bisket which the sailers would pilfer to sell, giue, or exchange with vs, for mon[e]y, saxefras, furres, or loue. But when they departed, there remained neither taverne, beere-house, nor place of rel[e]ife but the common kettell. Had we beene as free from all sinnes as gluttony and drunkeness, we might haue bin canonized for Saints. But our President would never haue bin admitted, for ingrossing to his privat [*i.e., his own use*], Otemeale, sacke, oile, aquavitæ, beefe, eg[g]s, or what not, but the kettel; that indeede he allowed equally to be distributed: and that was halfe a pinte of wheat, and as much barly, boyled with water, for a man a day; and this having fryed some 26. weeks in the ships hold, contained as many wormes as graines, so that we might truely call it rather so much bran than corne. Our drinke was water; our lodgings, castles in the air [*i.e., in the trees*]. [1607] *The sailers abuses.*

With this lodging and diet, our extreame toile in bearing and planting pallisadoes, so strained and bruised [**10**] vs, and our continuall labour in the extremity of the heate had so weakned vs, as were cause sufficient to haue made vs as miserable in our natiue country, or any other place in the world.

From May to September, those that escaped lived vpon Sturgion and sea-Crabs.

50. in this time we buried.

The rest seeing the Presidents proiects to escape these miseries in our Pinnas by flight (who all this time, had neither felt want nor sicknes), [this] so moved our dead spirits, as we deposed him [10 *Sept.* 1607]; and established *Ratcliffe* in his place: *Gosnoll* being dead [22 *Aug.* 1607], [and] *Kendall* deposed [? *Sept.* 1607]. *Smith* newly recovered; *Martin* and *Rat[c]liffe* was, by his care, preserved and relieued. *A bad Precident* [*p.* 8.] [*p.* 392.]

But now was all our provision spent, the Sturgeon gone, all helps abandoned, each houre expecting the fury of the Salvages; when God, the patron of all good indeavours, in that desperate extreamity, so changed the harts of the Salvages, that they brought such plenty of their fruits and provision, as no man wanted. *Plentie vnexpected.*

And now where some affirmed it was ill done of the Councel to send forth men so badly prouided, this incontradictable reason will shew them plainely they are too ill

[1607] advised to nourish such il conceipts. First, the fault of our going was our owne. What could bee thought fitting or necessary wee had: but what wee should finde, what we should want, where we shoulde be, we were all ignorant [of]. And supposing to make our passage in two monthes, with victuall to liue, and the advantage of the spring to worke: we weare at sea 5. monthes, where we both spent our victuall and lost the opportunity of the time and season to plant. [**11**]

Such actions haue ever since the worlds beginning beene subiect to such accidents, and every thing of worth is found full of difficulties: but nothing [is] so difficult as to establish a common wealth so farre remote from men and meanes; and where mens mindes are so vntoward as neither do well themselues, nor suffer others. But to proceed.

[*p.* 9.] The new President, and *Martin*, being little beloved, of weake iudgement in dangers and lesse industry in peace, committed the managing of all things abroad [*i.e.*, *out of doors*] to captaine *Smith*: who, by his owne example, good words, and faire promises, set some to mow, others to binde thatch; some to build houses, others to thatch them; himselfe alwaies bearing the greatest taske for his own share: so that, in short time, he provided most of them lodgings, neglecting any for himselfe.

The building of Iames Towne.

This done, seeing the Salvages superfluity beginne to decrease, [he] (with some of his workemen) shipped himselfe in the shallop, to search the country for trade. The want of the language, knowledge to mannage his boat without sailers, the want of a sufficient power [*forces*] (knowing the multitude of the Saluages), [of] apparell for his men, and [of] other necessaries; [these] were infinite impediments, yet no discouragement.

[*p.* 393

Being but 6 or 7 in company, he went down the riuer to *Kecoughtan*; where at first they scorned him, as a starved man: yet he so dealt with them, that the next day they loaded his boat with corne. And in his returne, he discouered and kindly traded with the *Weraskoyks*.

The beginning of trade abroad.

[*p.* 9.]

[*p.* 10.]

In the meane time, those at the fort so glutted the Saluages with their commodities, as they became not regarded. [**12**]

Smith perceiving (notwithstanding their late miserie) not any regarded but from hand to mouth, the company being well recovered, caused the Pinas to bee provided with things fitting to get provision for the yeare following. But in the interim, he made 3. or 4. iournies, and discovered the people of *Chickahamine*. Yet what he carefully provided, the rest careles[s]ly spent. [1607] [p. 394.]

The discoverie of Chickahamine.

Wingfield and *Kendall* liuing in disgrace, (seeing al things at randome in the absence of *Smith*, the companies dislike of their Presidents weaknes, and their small loue to *Martins* never-mending sicknes) strengthened themselues with the sailers and other confederates, to regaine their former credit and authority, or at least such meanes abord the Pinas (being fitted to saile as *Smith* had appointed for trade), to alter her course, and to go for England.

Smith vnexpectedly returning [? *Nov.* 1607], had the plot discovered to him. Much trouble he had to prevent it, till with store of fauken [*falcon balls*] and musket shot, he forced them [*i.e., by threats*] [to] stay or sinke in the riuer Which action cost the life of captaine *Kendall* [*who was shot after trial, see p.* 13].

These brawles are so disgustfull, as some will say they were better forgotten: yet all men of good iudgement will conclude, it were better their basenes should be manifest to the world, then the busines beare the scorne and shame of their excused disorders.

The President and captaine Archer not long after intended also to haue abandoned the country; which proiect also was curbed and suppressed by *Smith*. [p. 10.]

Another proiect to abandon the Country.

The Spanyard never more greedily desired gold then he victuall: which he found so plentiful in the riuer of *Chickahamine*, where hundreds of Salvages, in diuers places, stood with baskets expecting his coming. [**13**]

And now the winter approaching, the rivers became so covered with swans, geese, duckes, and cranes, that we daily feasted with good bread, Virginia pease, pumpions, and putchamins; fish, fowle, and diverse sorts of wild beasts as fat as we could eat them: so that none of our Tuftaffaty humorists desired to goe for England.

But our comædies never endured long without a [p. 395.]

[1607-8] Tragedie. Some idle exceptions being muttered against Captaine *Smith*, for not discovering the head of *Chickahamine* river; and taxed by the Councell, to bee too slow in so worthie an attempt: the next voyage, hee proceeded so farre that with much labour, by cutting of trees in sunder, he made his passage.

But when his Barge could passe no farther, he left her in a broad bay, out of danger of shot; commanding none should goe ashore till his returne. [He] himselfe, with 2 [*p.* 14.] English and two Salvages, went vp higher in a Canowe.

But hee was not long absent, but his men went ashore; whose want of government gaue both occasion and opportunity to the Salvages, to surprise one *George Casson*; and much failed not to haue cut of[f] the boat and all the rest.

[*p.* 15.] *Smith* little dreaming of that accident, being got to the marshes at the rivers head, 20 myles in the desert, had his 2 men slaine, (as is supposed) sleeping by the Canowe, whilst himselfe by fowling sought them victuall. Who finding he was beset with 200 Salvages, 2 of them hee slew; stil defending himselfe with the aid of a Salvage his guid[e], whome hee bounde to his arme and vsed as his buckler: till at last slipping into a bogmire, they tooke him prisoner.

When this newes came to the fort, much was their sorrow for his losse, fewe expecting [**14**] what ensued.

A month those Barbarians kept him prisoner. Many strange triumphes and coniurations they made of him: yet hee so demeaned himselfe amongst them, as he not only diverted them from surprising the Fort; but procure his owne liberty, and got himselfe and his company such estimation amongst them, that those Salvages admired [*wondered at*] him as a demi-God.

The 3. proiect to abandon the fort So returning safe to the Fort [*on* 8 *Jan.* 1608], [he] once more staied the Pinnas her flight for England; which, til his returne, could not set saile, so extreame was the [*p.* 22.] weather, and so great the frost.

His relation of the plentie he had seene, especially at [*p.* 402.] *Werowocomoco*, where inhabited *Powhatan* (that till that time was vnknowne [*i.e.*, *personally*]), so revived againe their dead spirits as all mens feare was abandoned.

Powhatan having sent with this Captaine, divers of his

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men loaded with provision; he had conditioned, and so appointed his trustie messengers to bring but 2 or 3 of our great ordenances: but the messengers being satisfied with the sight of one of them discharged, ran away amazed with feare, till meanes was vsed with guifts to assure them [of] our loues. [1608]

Thus you may see what difficulties stil crossed any good indeavour, and the good successe of the businesse; and being thus oft brought to the very period of destruction, yet you see by what strange meanes God hath still delivered it.

As for the insufficiencie of them admitted in commission, that errour could not be prevented by their electors; there being no other choice, and all were strangers each to others education, quallities, or disposition.

A true proofe of Gods loue to the action.

And if any deeme it a shame to our nation, to haue any mention made of these enormities [**15**], let them pervse the histories of the Spanish discoveries and plantations: where they may see how many mutinies, discords, and dissentions haue accompanied them and crossed their attempts; which being knowne to be particular mens offences, doth take away the generall scorne and contempt, [that] mallice and ignorance might else produce to the scandall and reproach of those whose actions and valiant resolution deserue a worthie respect.

Now whether it had beene better for Captaine *Smith* to haue concluded with any of their severall proiects to haue abandoned the Countrie with some 10 or 12 of them [that] we cal the better sort; to haue left Maister *Hunt* our preacher, Maister *Anthony Gosnoll* (a most honest worthy and industrious gentleman) with some 30 or 40 others, his countrie men, to the furie of the Salvages, famin, and all manner of mischiefes and inconveniences; or starved himselfe with them for company, for want of lodging; or but adventuring abroad to make them provision: or by his opposition, to preserue the action, and saue all their liues; I leaue to the censure of others to consider.

[*pp.* 90, 93, 103, 386, 389, 402, 407.]

Of two evils the lesser was chosen

Thomas Studley.

[p. 403.]

CHAPTER III.

The arrivall of the first supply with their proceedings and returne. [16]

[1608]

ALl this time, our cares were not so much to abandon the Countrie, but the Treasurer and Councell in England were as diligent and carefull to supplie vs. Two tall ships they sent vs, with neere 100 men, well furnished with all things [that] could be imagined necessarie, both for them and vs. The one commanded by Captaine *Newport*. The other, by Captaine *Nelson*, an honest man and an expert marriner: but such was the leewardnesse of his ship, that (though he were within sight of *Cape Henry*) [he], by stormy contrarie windes, was forced so farre to sea as the West Indies was the next land [he made], for for the repaire of his Masts, and reliefe of wood and water.

The Phenix from Cape henry, forced to the west Indies.

But Captaine *Newport* got in, and ar[r]ived at *Iames* towne [8 *Jan.* 1608], not long after the redemption of Captaine *Smith*; to whome the Salvages, every other day, brought such plentie of bread, fish, turkies, squirrels, deare, and other wild beasts: part they gaue him as presents from the king; the rest, hee as their market clarke, set the price how they should sell. So he had inchanted those pore soules (being their prisoner) in demonstrating vnto them the roundnesse of the world, the course of the moone and starres, the cause of the day and night, the largenes of the seas, the quallities of our ships shot and powder, the devision of the world, with the diversity of the people, their complexions customes and conditions. All which hee fained to be vnder the command of Captaine *Newport*, whom he tearmed to them his father; of whose arrival [17] it chanced he so directly prophecied, as they esteemed him an oracle.

[p. 23.]

How Capt. Smith got his liberty.

By these fictions he not only saved his owne life, and obtained his liberty; but had them at that command, [that] he might command them what his listed. That God that created al these things, they knew he adored for his God; whom they would also tearme in their discourses, the God of captaine *Smith*. [1608]

Their opinion of our God

The President and Councel so much envied his estimation amongst the Salvages (though wee all in generall equally participated with him of the good therof) that they wrought it into their vnderstandings, by their great bounty in giuing 4. times more for their commodities then he appointed, that their greatnesse and authority as much exceed[ed] his, as their bounty and liberality. [*f.* 404.]

Now the arrivall of [t]his first supply so overioyed vs, that we could not devise too much to please the mariners. We gaue them liberty to track [*truck*] or trade at their pleasures. But in a short time, it followed [that] that could not be had for a pound of copper, which before was sold for an ounce. Thus ambition and sufferance cut the throat of our trade, but confirmed their opinion of *Newports* greatnes; wherewith *Smith* had possessed *Powhatan*: especially by the great presents *Newport* often sent him, before he could prepare the Pinas to go and visit him. So that this Salvage also desired to see him. [*f.* 23.]

A great bruit there was to set him forwarde [*Feb.* 1608]. When he went, he was accompanied with captaine *Smith* and *Maister Scrivener* (a very wise vnderstanding gentleman newly arrived, and admitted of the Councell), and 30. or 40. chosen men for that guarde.

Smiths revisiting Powhatan.

Arriving at *Werowocomo*[*co*], *Newports* conceipt of this great Salvage bred [**18**] many doubts and suspitions of treacheries. Which *Smith*, to make appeare was needlesse, with 20. men well appointed, vndertooke to encounter (with that number) the worst that could happen. The[i]re names were [*A.* 24.]

Nathaniell Powell.	*Iohn Taverner.*
Robert Beheathland.	*William Dier.*
William Phettiplace.	*Thomas Coe.*
Richard Wyffin.	*Thomas Hope.*
Anthony Gosnoll.	*Anas Todkell.*

with 10. others whose names I [*evidently Todkill*] haue forgotten. [*f.* 405.]

[1608] These being kindly receiued a shore; with 2. or 300. Salvages were conducted to their towne. *Powhatan* strained himselfe to the vttermost of his greatnes, to entertain vs, with great shouts of Ioy, orations of protestations, and the most plenty of victuall hee could prouide to feast vs.

Powhatans first entertainement of our men.

Sitting vpon his bed of mats, his pillow of leather imbroydred (after their rude manner) with pearle and white beades, his attire a faire Robe of skins as large as an Irish mantle, at his head and [at his] feet a handsome young woman: on each side [of] his house sate 20. of his concubines, their heads and shoulders painted red, with a great chaine of white beads about their necks; before those, sate his chiefest men, in like order, in his arbor-like house.

[*p.* 25]. With many pretty discourses to renue their olde acquaintaunce; the great kinge and our captaine spent the time till the ebbe left our Barge a [19] ground: then renuing their feasts and mirth, we quartred that night with *Powhatan*:

[*p.* 27.] The next day *Newport* came a shore, and receiued as much content as those people could giue him. A boy named *Thomas Savage* was then giuen vnto *Powhatan*, who[m] *Newport* called his son: for whom *Powhatan* gaue him *Namontacke* his trusty servant, and one of a shrewd subtill capacity.

The exchange of a Christian for a Salvage.

[*p.* 406.] 3. or 4. daies were spent in feasting, dancing, and trading; wherin *Powhatan* carried himselfe so prowdly, yet discreetly (in his Salvage manner), as made vs all admire his natural gifts, considering his education.

[*p.* 27.] As scorning to trade as his subiects did, he bespake *Newport* in this manner.

Powhatans speech.

> Captain *Newport* it is not agreable with my greatnes in this pedling manner to trade for trifles; and I esteeme you a great *werowans*. Therefore lay me down all your commodities togither, what I like I will take; and in recompence giue you that I thinke fitting their value.

Captaine *Smith* being our interpreter, regarding *Newport* as his father, knowing best the disposition of *Powhatan*, told vs his intent was but to cheat vs; yet captaine *Newport* thought to out-braue this Salvage in ostentation of greatnes, and so to bewitch him with his bounty, as to haue

what he listed: but so it chanced, *Powhatan* having his desire, valued his corne at such a rate, as I [? *A. Todkill*] thinke it [were] better cheape in *Spaine*; for we had not 4. bushels for that we expected 20. hogsheads [for]. [1608]

This bred some vnkindnes betweene our two captaines, *Newport* seeking to please the humor of the vnsatiable Salvage, *Smith* to cause the Salvage to please him: but smothering his distast[e] to avoide the [**20**] Salvages suspition, [he] glaunced in the eies of *Powhatan* many Trifles; who fixed his humour vpon a few blew beads. A long time he importunat[e]ly desired them, but *Smith* seemed so much the more to affect them: so that ere we departed, for a pound or two of blew beads, he brought over my king for 2 or 300 bushels of corne; yet parted good friends. *Difference of opinions.* [*p.* 28.]

The like entertainement we found of *Opechanchynough*, king of *Pamaunke*; whom also he in like manner fitted (at the like rates) with blew beads: and so we returned to the fort [*on 9 March* 1608]. [*p.* 31.]

Where this New Supply being lodged with the rest, [had] accidently fired the quarters, and so the Towne [*about* 14 *Jan.* 1608]; which being but thatched with reeds, the fire was so fierce as it burnt their pallizadoes (though 10. to 12 yardes distant), with their armes, bedding, apparell, and much private provision. Good *Maister Hunt* our preacher, lost all his library, and al that he had but the cloathes on his backe, yet [did] none ever see him repine at his losse. This hapned in the winter, in that extreame frost 1607[-8]. *Iames towne burnt.* [*p.* 407.] [*pp.* 90, 93, 103, 386, 389, 402, 407.]

Now though we had victuall sufficient, I meane only of Oatmeale, meale, and corne: yet the ship staying there 14. weeks (when shee might as well haue been gone in 14. daies), spent the beefe, porke, oile, aquavitæ, fish, butter and cheese, beere, and such like, as was provided to be landed [for] vs. *A ship idly loitring 14 weeks.*

When they departed, what their discretion could spare vs, to make a feast or two with bisket, pork, beefe, fish, and oile, to relish our mouths; of each somewhat they left vs: yet I [? *A. Todkill*] must confess those that had either mony, spare clothes, credit to giue bils of payment, gold rings, furres, or any such commodities, were ever welcome to this

[1608] removing taverne. Such was [21] our patience to obay such vile commanders [i.e., *the President Ratcliffe and the majority of the Council*], and buy our owne provision at 15 times the valew; suffering them [to] feast, we bearing the charge; yet must [we] not repine, but fast; and then leakage, ship-rats and other casualties occasioned the losse. But the vessell and remnants (for totals), we were glad to receiue with all our hearts to make vp the account, highly commending their providence for preserving that.

For all this plentie, our ordinarie was but meale and water; so that this great charge little relieved our wants: whereby, with the extreamity of the bitter cold aire, more then halfe of vs died, and [*or*] tooke our deathes, in that piercing winter.

I cannot deny but both *Skrivener* and *Smith* did their best to amend what was amisse: but with the President went the major part [*the majority of the Council*], that their hornes were too short.

But the worst mischiefe was our gilded refiners, with their golden promises, made all men their slaues in hope of recompence. There was no talke, no hope, nor worke, but dig gold, wash gold, refine gold, load gold. Such a bru[i]te of gold, as one mad fellow [*a wag*] desired to bee buried in the sandes, least they should by their art make gold of his bones. Little need there was and lesse reason, the ship should stay, their wages run on, our victuall consume 14 weekes, that the Marriners might say, they built such a golden Church, that we can say, the raine washed neare to nothing in 14 daies.

The effect of meere verbalists. [*p.* 408.]

A needles charge

Were it that Captaine *Smith* would not applaud all those golden inventions, because they admitted him not to the sight of their trials, nor golden consultations I knowe not: but I [*? Anas Todkill, see p.* 107] heard him question with Captaine *Martin* and tell him, except he would shew [22] him a more substantiall triall, hee was not inamored with their durtie skill. Breathing out these and many other passions, never any thing did more torment him, than to see all necessarie businesse neglected, to fraught such a drunken ship with so much gilded durt.

Till then wee never accounted Captaine *Newport* a refiner. Who being fit to set saile for England, and wee not having any vse of Parliaments, plaies, petitions,

admirals, recorders, interpreters, chronologers, courts of plea, nor Iustices of peace, sent Maister *Wingfield*, and Captaine *Archer* with him, for England, to seeke some place of better imploiment. [1608]

A returne to England.

CHAPTER IV.

The ar[r]ival of the Phœnix, her returne, and other accidents.

THE authoritie nowe consisting in refining Captaine *Martin* and the still sickly President: the sale of stores [and] commodities maintained their estates as inheritable revenews.

The spring approching, and the ship departed, Maister *Skriuener* and Captaine *Smith* divided betwixt them, the rebuilding our towne, the repairing our pallisadoes, the cutting downe trees, preparing our fields, planting our corne, and to rebuild our Church, and re-cover our store-house. *The repairing of Iames towne.* [*p.* 409.]

Al men thus busie at their severall labours, Maister *Nelson* arived [*on* 20 *April* 1608] with his lost Phœnix, (lost I say, for that al men deemed him lost), landing safely his men. [*p.* 33, 34.]

So well hee had mannaged his ill hap, causing the Indian Iles to feed his company, [**23**] that his victuall ([added] to that was left vs before) was sufficient for halfe a yeare. He had nothing but he freely imparted it; which honest dealing (being a marriner) caused vs [to] admire him. Wee would not haue wished so much as he did for vs.

Nowe to relade this ship with some good tidings, the President (yet not withstanding [*it not standing*] with his dignitie to leaue the fort), gaue order to Captaine *Smith* and Maister *Skriuener*, to discover and search the commodities of *Monacans* countrie beyound the Falles. 60 able men was allotted their number, the which, within 6 daies exercise, *Smith* had so well trained to their armes and [*p.* 34.]

60 appointed to discover Monacan.

[1608] orders, that they little feared with whome they should encounter. Yet so vnseasonable was the time, and so opposite was Captain *Martin* to every thing but only to fraught to [t]his ship also with his phantasticall gold, as Captaine *Smith* rather desired to relade her with Cedar, which was a present dispatch, than either with durt, or the reports of an vncertaine discoverie.

An ill example to sell swords to Salvages. [*p.* 31.]

Whilst their conclusion was resolving, this hapned. *Powhatan* to expresse his loue to *Newport*, when he departed, presented him with 20 Turkies, conditionally to returne him 20 Swords: which immediately were sent him.

[*p.* 410.]

Now after his departure, hee presented Captaine *Smith* with the like luggage; but not finding his humour obaied, in sending him weapons, he caused his people with 20.

Powhatans tricherie.

devises to obtain them. At last, by ambuscadoes at our very ports, they would take them per force, surprise vs at work or any way: which was so long permitted that they became so insolent, there was no rule. The command from England was so straight not [**24**] to offend them, as

The gouernors weaknesse.

our authority bearers (keeping their houses) would rather be any thing then peace breakers.

[*pp.* 35-39.]

This charitable humor prevailed, till well it chaunced they medled with captaine *Smith*: who, without farther deliberation, gaue them such an incounter, as some he so

Smiths attempt to suppresse the Salvage insolencies.

hunted vp and downe the Ile, some he so terrified with whipping beating and imprisonment; as for revenge, they surprised two of his forraging disorderly souldiers, and having assembled their forces, boldly threatned at our ports to force *Smith* to redeliver 7 Salvages which for their villanies he detained prisoners. But to try their furies, in lesse then halfe an houre, he so hampered their insolencies, that they brought the 2. prisoners, desiring peace without any farther composition for their prisoners: who being threatned and examined their intents, and [the] plotters of their villanies, confessed they were directed only by *Powhatan*, to obtaine [for] him, our owne weapons, to cut our own throats; with the manner how, where, and when, which wee plainely found most rue and apparant.

Powhatans excuses.

Yet he sent [*May* 1608] his messengers and his dearest

Daughter *Pocahuntas* to excuse him of the iniuries done by his subiects; desiring their liberties, with the assuraunce of his loue. [1608] [p. 38.]

After *Smith* had giuen the prisoners what correction hee thought fit; [he] vsed them well a day or two after, and then deliuered them [to] *Pocahuntas*: for whose sake only, he fained to saue their liues and graunt them liberty. [p. 39.]

The patient Councel, that nothing would moue to warre with the Salvages, would gladly haue wrangled with captaine *Smith* for his cruelty; yet none was slaine to any mans knowledge: but it brought them in such feare and [**25**] obedience, as his very name would sufficiently affright them. [p. 411.]

A ship fraught with Cedar.

The fraught of this ship being concluded to be Cedar; by the diligence of the Master, and captaine *Smith*, shee was quickly reladed: *Maister Scrivener* was neither Idle nor slow, to follow all things at the fort.

The ship falling to the Cedar Ile, captaine *Martin* having made shift to be sicke neare a yeare; and [there being] now neither pepper, suger, cloues, mace, nor nugmets [*nutmegs*], ginger, nor sweet meates in the country: (to enioy the credit of his supposed art) at his earnest request, [he] was most willingly admitted to returne for England.

The aduentures of Captaine Martin.

Yet having beene there but a yeare, and not past halfe a year since the ague left him; that he might say somewhat he had seene, hee went twice by water to *Paspahegh* [*p.* 11], a place neere 7. miles from *Iames* towne: but lest the dew should distemper him, was ever forced to returne before night. Thus much I [*evidently Anas Todkill*] thought fit to expresse; he expresly commanding me to record his iournies: I being his man, and he sometimes my master

Thomas Studly, Anas Todkill.

Their names that were landed in this supply:

Matthew Scriviner, appointed to be of the Councell.

Michaell Phetyplace. } Gent. | *Ralfe Morton.* } Gent.
William Phetyplace. } | *William Cantrill.* }

[1608] *Richard Wyffin.*
Robert Barnes.
George Hill. [26]
George Pretty.
Iohn Taverner.
Robert Cutler.
Michaell Sickelmore.
Thomas Coo.
Peter Pory.
Richard Killingbeck.
William Causey.
[p. 412.] *Doctor Russell.*
Richard Worley.
Richard Prodger.
William Bayley.
Richard Molynex.
Richard Pots.
Iefry Abots.
Iohn Harper.
Timothy Leds.
Edward Gurganay.
George Forest.
Iohn Nickoles.
William Gryvill.
} Gent.

Daniel Stalling, Iueller.
William Dawson, Refiner.
Abraham Ransacke, Refiner.
William Iohnson, Goldsmith.
Peter Keffer, a Gunner.
Robert Alberton, a Perfumer.
Richard Belfield, Goldsmith.
[27]

Ramon Goodyson.
Iohn Speareman.
William Spence.
Richard Brislow.
William Simons.
} Labourers.

Iohn Bouth.
William Burket.
Nicholas Ven.
William Perce.
Francis Perkins.
Francis Perkins.
William Bentley.
Richard Gradon.
Rowland Nelstrop.
Richard Salvage.
Thomas Salvage.
Richard Miler.
William May.
Vere.
Michaell.
Bishop Wyles.
} Labourers.

Iohn Powell.
Thomas Hope.
William Beckwith.
William Yonge.
Lawrence Towtales.
William Ward.
} Tailers.

Christopher Rodes.
Iames Watkings.
Richard Fetherstone.
Iames Burne. [28]

Thomas Feld.
Iohn Harford.
} Apothecaries.

Post Gittnat, a C[hir]urgion.
Iohn Lewes, a Couper.
Robert Cotten, a Tobaco-pipe-maker.
Richard Dole, a blacke Smith
and divers others, to the number of 120.

CHAPTER V.

The accidents that happened in the Discoverie of the bay.

THe prodigality of the Presidents state went so deepe in the store, that *Smith* and *Scrivener* had a while tyed both *Martin* and him to the rules of proportion: but now *Smith* being to depart, the Presidents authorite so overswayed *Maister Scriveners* discretion, as our store, our time, our strength and labours, was idlely consumed to fulfill his phantasies. [1608]

The second of Iune 1608. *Smith* left the fort, to performe his discoverie; with this company.

Walter Russell Doctour of Physicke. [*f.* 413.]

Ralph Morton.
Thomas Momford.
William Cantrill.
Richard Fetherstone.
Iames Bourne.
Michael Sicklemore.
} Gent. [29]

Anas Todkill.
Robert Small.
Iames VVatkins.
Iohn Powell.
} Sould.

Iames Read, blacke smith.
Richard Keale, fishmonger.
Ionas Profit, fisher.

These being in an open barge of two tunnes burden.

Leaving the Phenix at Cape-Henry, we crossed the bay to the Easterne shore, and fell with the Iles called *Smiths* Iles.

The first people we saw were 2. grimme and stout Salvages vpon Cape-Charles, with long poles like Iavelings, headed with bone. They boldly demanded what we were, and what we would; but after many circumstances, they in time seemed very kinde, and directed vs to *Acawmacke*, the habitation of the *Werowans*, where we were kindly intreated. *Cape Charles.* *Acawmacke.*

[1608] This king was the com[e]liest proper civill Salvage wee incountred. His country is a pleasant fertill clay-soile. Hee tolde vs of a straunge accident lately happened [to] him, and it was. Two deade children, by the extreame passions of their parents, or some dreaming visions, phantasie, or affection [which] moued them againe to revisit their dead carkases: whose benummed bodies reflected to the eies of the beholders such pleasant delightfull countenances, as though they had regained their vital spirits. This, as a miracle, drew many to behold them: all which, (being a great part of his people) not long after died, and not any one escaped.

A strange mortalitie of Salvages.

They spake the language of *Powhatan* wherein they made such descriptions of the bay, Iles, and rivers that often did vs exceeding pleasure.

Passing [30] along the coast, searching every inlet and bay fit for harbours and habitations: [and] seeing many Iles in the midst of the bay, we bore vp for them; but ere wee could attaine them, such an extreame gust of wind, raine, thunder, and lightning happened, that with great daunger, we escaped the vnmercifull raging of that ocean-like water.

An extreame gust.

[*f.* 414] The next day, searching those inhabitable Iles (which we called Russels Isles) to provide fresh water: the defect whereof forced vs to follow the next Easterne channell, which brought vs to the river *Wighcocomoco.*

Russels Iles.

Wighcocomoco.

The people at first with great furie seemed to assault vs; yet at last with songs, daunces, and much mirth. But searching their habitations for water, wee could fill but 3 [? *barricoes*], and that such puddle that never til then wee ever knew the want of good water. We digged and search many places but ere the end of two daies, wee would haue refused two barricoes of gold for one of that puddle water of *Wighcocomoco.*

A extreame want of fresh water.

Being past these Isles, falling with a high land vpon the maine, wee found a great pond of fresh water; but so exceeding hot, that we supposed it some bath. That place we called Point ployer.

Being thus refreshed, in crossing over from the maine to other Iles, the wind and waters so much increased with thunder lightning and raine, that our fore-mast blew overbord; and such mightie waues overwrought vs in that

The barge wasn sunk in a gust.

smal barge, that with great labour wee kept her from sinking, by freeing out the water. [1608]

2 daies we were inforced to inhabit these vninhabited Iles; which (for the extremitie of gusts, thunder, raine, stormes, and il weather) we called *Limbo*.

Repairing our fore saile with [**31**] our shirts, we set saile for the maine; and fel with a faire river on the East called *Kuskaranaocke*. By it inhabit the people of *Soraphanigh*, *Nause*, *Arsek*, and *Nautaquake*, that much extolled a great nation called *Massawomekes*: in search of whome, wee returned by Limbo. *The first notice of the Massawomekes.*

But finding this easterne shore shallow broken Iles, and the maine for [the] most part without fresh water; we passed by the straights of Limbo, for the weasterne shore. So broad is the bay here, that we could scarse perceiue the great high Cliffes on the other side.

By them, wee anc[h]ored that night, and called them Richards Cliffes. 30 leagues we sailed more Northwards, not finding any inhabitants; yet the coast well watred, the mountaines very barren, the vallies very fertil, but the woods extreame thicke, full of Woolues, Beares, Deare, and other wild beasts. [*p.* 416.]

The first inlet we found, wee called *Bolus*, for that the clay (in many places) was like (if not) Bole-Armoniacke. *Bolus river.*

When we first set saile, some of our gallants doubted nothing, but that our Captaine would make too much hast home. But hauing lien not aboue 12 daies in this smal Barge, oft tired at their oares, their bread spoiled with wet, so much that it was rotten (yet so good were their stomacks that they could digest it), did with continuall complaints so importune him now to returne, as caused him bespeake them in this manner [*on* 13 *June* 1608].

Gentlemen, if you would remember the memorable historie of Sir *Ralfe Lane*, how his company importuned him to proceed in the discoverie of *Morattico*, alleaging, they had yet a dog, that being boyled with Saxafras leaues, would richly feed them in their returnes; what shame would it be for you [**32**] (that haue beene so suspitious of my tendernesse) to force me [to] returne with a months prouision, scarce able to say where we *Smiths speech to his souldiers.* [*pp.* 314, 416.]

[1608] haue bin, nor yet heard of that wee were sent to seeke. You cannot say but I haue shared with you of the worst [that] is past; and for what is to come, of lodging, diet, or whatsoever, I am contented you allot the worst part to my selfe. As for your feares, that I will lose my selfe in these vnknowne large waters, or be swallowed vp in some stormie gust: abandon those childish feares, for worse then is past cannot happen, and there is as much danger to returne, as to proceed forward. Regaine therefore your old spirits: for returne I wil not, (if God assist me) til I haue seene the *Massawomekes*, found *Patawomeck*, or the head of this great water you conceit to be endlesse.

[*f.* 417.] 3 or 4 daies we expected [? *experienced*] wind and weather, whose adverse extreamities added such discouragements to our discontents as 3 or 4 fel extreame sicke; whose pitiful complaints caused vs to returne, leauing the bay some 10 miles broad at 9 or 10 fadome water.

The discovery of Patawomeck. The 16 of Iune, we fel with the riuer of *Patawomeck*. Feare being gon[e], and our men recovered, wee were all contented to take some paines to knowe the name of this 9 mile broad river. We could see no inhabitants for 30 myles saile. Then we were conducted by 2 Salvages vp a little bayed creeke toward *Onawmament*: where all the

Ambuscadoes of Salvages. woods were laid with Ambuscadoes to the number of 3 or 400 Salvages; but so strangely painted, grimed, and disguised, showting, yelling, and crying, as we rather supposed them so many divels.

They made many bravadoes, but to appease [**33**] their furie, our Captaine prepared (with a seeming willingnesse, as they) to encounter them. The grazing of the bullets vpon the river, with the ecc[h]o of the woods so amazed them, as down went their bowes and arrowes; and exchanging hostage[s] *Iames Watkins* was sent 6. myles vp the woods, to their kings habitation. Wee were kindly vsed by these Salvages: of whom we vnderstood, they were commaunded to betray vs, by *Powhatans* direction;

A treacherous proiect. and hee so directed, from the discontents [*discontented*] of Iames towne.

The like incounters we found at *Patawomeck*, *Cecocawone*, and divers other places; but at *Moyaones*, *Nacothtant*, and *Taux*, the people did their best to content vs. [1608]

The cause of this discovery was to search a glistering mettal, the Salvages told vs they had from *Patawomeck* (the which *Newport* assured that he had tryed to hold halfe siluer), also to search what furres, metals, riuers, Rockes, nations, woods, fishings, fruits, victuals, and other commodities the land afforded; and whether the bay were endlesse, or how farre it extended.

Antimony

The mine we found 9 or 10 myles vp in the country from the river; but it proved of no value. Some Otters, Beavers, Martins, Luswarts, and sables we found: and, in diverse places, that abundance of fish lying so thicke with their heads aboue the water, as for want of nets (our barge driving amongst them) we attempted to catch them with a frying pan; but we found it a bad instrument to catch fish with. Neither better fish, more plenty or variety, had any of vs ever seene in any place, swimming in the water, then in the bay of *Chesapeack*: but there not to be caught with frying-pans.

An abundant plentie of fish.

To expresse al our [**34**] quarrels, treacheries and incounters amongst those Salvages, I should be too tedious: but in briefe, at al times we so incountred them and curbed their insolencies, as they concluded with presents to purchase peace; yet wee lost not a man. At our first meeting, our captaine ever observed this order, to demaunde their bowes and arrowes, swords, mantles, or furres; with some childe for hostage: whereby he could quickly perceiue when they intended any villany. [*p.* 419.]

How to deale with the Salvages.

Having finished this discovery, (though our victuall was neare spent) he intended to haue seene his imprisonments acqaintance vpon the river of *Toppahannock* [*pp.* 18, 19, 119]. But our boate (by reason of the ebbe) chansing to ground vpon a many shoules lying in the entrance, we spied many fishes lurking amongst the weedes on the sands. Our captaine sporting himselfe to catch them by nailing them to the ground with his sword, set vs all a fishing in that manner. By this devise, we tooke more in an houre then we all could eat.

[1608] *A Stingray very hurtfull.*

But it chanced, the captaine taking a fish from his sword (not knowing her condition), being much of the fashion of a Thornebacke with a longer taile whereon is a most poysoned sting of 2. or 3. inches long, which shee strooke an inch and [a] halfe into the wrist of his arme. The which, in 4. houres, had so extreamly swolne his hand, arme, shoulder, and part of his body, as we al with much sorrow concluded [*anticipated*] his funerall, and prepared his graue in an Ile hard by (as himselfe appointed); which then wee called Stingeray Ile, after the name of the fish. Yet by the helpe of a precious oile, Doctour *Russel* applyed, ere night his tormenting paine was so wel asswaged that he eate the fish to his supper: which [35] gaue no lesse ioy and content to vs, then ease to himselfe.

Having neither Surgeon nor surgerie but that preservatiue oile, we presently set saile for Iames Towne.

Passing the mouth of *Pyankatanck* and *Pamavnke* riuers, the next day we safely arrived at *Kecoughtan*.

[*p.* 420.] *The Salvages affrighted with their owne suspition.*

The simple Salvages seeing our captaine hurt, and another bloudy (which came by breaking his shin), [and] our number of bowes, arrowes, swords, targets, mantles and furs, would needs imagine we had bin at warres. The truth of these accidents would not satisfie them; but impaciently they importuned vs to know with whom wee fought. Finding their aptnes to beleeue, we failed not (as a great secret) to tel them any thing that might affright them, what spoile wee had got and made of the *Masawomeekes*. This rumor went faster vp the river then our barge: That arrived at *Weraskoyack*, the 20 of Iulie; where trimming her, with painted streamers and such devises, we made the Fort iealious of a Spanish frigot; where we all safely arrived the 21. of Iuly.

A needlesse miserie.

There wee found the Last Supply al sicke; the rest, some lame, some bruised: al vnable to do any thing but complain of the pride and vnreasonable needlesse cruelty of their sillie President [*Ratcliffe*] that had riotously consumed the store; and to fulfill his follies, about building him an vnnecessarie pallas in the woodes, [which] had brought them all to that miserie, that had not we arrived, they had as strangely tormented him with revenge.

But the good newes of our discovery, and the good hope we had (by the Salvages relation) our Bay had stretched to the South sea, appeased their fury; but conditionally that *Rat[c]liffe* should be deposed, and that captaine *Smith* would take [**36**] vpon him the governement. [1608]

Their request being effected [? 23 *July*], hee substituted *Maister Scrivener*, his deare friend, in the Presidencie; equally distributing those private provisions the other[s] had ingrossed; appointing more honest officers to assist *Scrivener* (who they lay extreamelie tormented with a callenture): and in regard of the weaknes of the company, and heat of the yeare, they being vnable to worke, he left them to liue at ease; but imbarked himselfe to finish his discovery.

The company left to liue at ease.

Written by Walter Russell and Anas Todkill.

CHAPTER VI.

What happened the second voyage to discouer the Bay.

[1608] THE 20. [*or rather* 24, *see p.* 421] of Iuly, Captaine *Smith* set forward to finish the discovery, with 12. men. Their names were

p. 421.]

Nathaniell Powell.
Thomas Momford.
Richard Fetherstone. } Gent.
Michaell Sicklemore.
Iames Bourne.

Anas Todkill.
Edward Pysing.
Richard Keale. } Sould.
Anthony Bagnall.

Iames Watkins, Sould.
William Ward.
Ionas Profit.

The winde beeing contrary, caused our stay 2 or 3 [**37**] daies at *Kecoughtan*; the *werowans* feasting vs with much mirth. His people were perswaded we went purposely to be reuenged of the *Massawomeckes*. In the evening, we firing 2. or 3. rackets, so terrified the poore Salvages, they supposed nothing impossible wee attempted, and desired to assist vs.

The Salvages admire fireworkes.

The first night, we anchored at Stingeray Ile; the next day, crossed *Patawomecks* riuer, and hasted for the riuer Bolus.

Wee went not much farther, before wee might perceiue the Bay to devide in 2. heads; and arriving there, we founde it devided in 4; all which we searched so far as we could saile them.

The head of the Bay.

2. of them wee found vninhabited, but in crossing the

bay to the other, wee incountered 7. or 8. Canowes-full of *Massawomecks*. [1608]

We seeing them prepare to assault vs, left our oares, and made way with our saile to incounter them; yet were we but fiue (with our captaine) [that] could stand: [f]or within 2. daies after wee left *Kecoughtan*, the rest (being all of the Last Supply) were sicke almost to death (vntill they were seasoned to the country). Hauing shut them vnder our tarpawling, we put their hats vpon stickes by the barge side, to make vs seeme many. And so we thinke the Indians supposed those hats to be men: for they fled with all possible speed to the shoare, and there stayed, staring at the sailing of our barge, till we anchored right against them.

An incounter with the Massawomecks.

[Four of these five First Planters were N. Powell, A. Todkill, E. Pysing, and J. Profit. See *pp.* 93, 94.]

[*p.* 422.]

Long it was ere we could drawe them to come vnto vs. At last, they sent 2 of their company vnarmed in a Canowe: the rest all followed to second them, if need required. These 2 being but each presented with a bell, brought aborde all their fellowes; presenting the captain with venison, beares flesh, fish, bowes, arrows, [**38**] clubs, targets, and beare-skins.

Wee vnderstood them nothing at all but by signes, whereby they signified vnto vs they had been at warres with the *Tockwoghs*, the which they confirmed by shewing their green wounds.

But the night parting vs, we imagined they appointed the next morning to meete; but after that we never saw them.

Entring the River of *Tockwogh*, the Saluages all armed in a fleete of Boates round invironed vs. It chanced one of them could speake the language of *Powhatan*, who perswaded the rest to a friendly parly. But when they see vs furnished with the *Massawomeckes* weapons, and we faining the inuention of *Kecoughtan* to haue taken them perforce; they conducted vs to their pallizadoed towne, mantelled with the barkes of trees, with Scaffolds like mounts, brested about with Barks very formally. Their men, women, and children, with dances, songs, fruits, fish, furres, and what they had, kindly entertained vs, spreading mats for vs to sit on, [and] stretching their best abilities to expresse their loues.

An incounter with the Tockwoghs.

Many hatchets, kniues, and peeces of yron and brasse,

[1608] *Hatchets from Sasquesahanock[s].* we saw; which they reported to haue from the *Sasquesahanockes*, a mighty people, and mortall enimies with the *Massawomeckes*.

The *Sasquesahanocks* inhabit vpon the chiefe spring of these 4.; two daies journey higher then our Barge could passe for rocks. Yet we prevailed with the interpreter to take with him an other interpreter to perswade the *Sasquesahanocks* to come to visit vs: for their language[s] are different.

[*p.* 423.] 3. or 4. daies we expected their returne. Then 60. of these giantlike-people came downe, with presents of venison, Tobacco [**39**] pipes, Baskets, Targets, Bowes and Arrows. 5 of their *Werowances* came boldly abord vs, to crosse the bay for *Tockwogh*; leaving their men and Canowes; the winde being so violent that they durst not passe.

The Sasquesahanocks offer to the English. Our order was, dayly, to haue prayer, with a psalm: at which solemnitie the poore Salvages much wondered. Our prayers being done, they were long busied with consultation till they had contrived their businesse. Then they began in most passionate manner, to hold vp their hands to the sunne, with a most feareful song. Then imbracing the Captaine, they began to adore him in like manner: though he rebuked them, yet they proceeded til their song was finished. Which don[e], with a most strange furious action, and a hellish voice, [one] began an oration of their loues.

That ended, with a great painted beares skin, they couered our Captaine. Then one ready with a chaine of white beads (waighing at least 6 or 7 pound) hung it about his necke: the others had 18 mantles made of divers sorts of skinnes sowed together. All these, with many other toyes, they laid at his feet; stroking their ceremonious handes about his necke, for his creation to be their governour; promising their aids, victuals, or what they had, to be his, if he would stay with them, to defend and revenge them of the *Massawomecks*.

But wee left them at *Tockwogh*, they much sorrowing for our departure: yet wee promised the next yeare againe to visit them.

Many descriptions and discourses they made vs of

Atquanahucke, *Massawomecke*, and other people; signifying they inhabit the river of *Cannida*, and from the French to haue their hatchets and such like tooles by trade. [**40**] These knowe no more of the territories of *Powhatan* then his name, and he as little of them. [1608] *Cannida.*

Thus hauing sought all the inlets and rivers worth noting, we returned to discover the river of *Pawtuxunt*. These people we found very tractable, and more civill then any. Wee promised them, as also the *Patawomecks*, the next yeare to revenge them of the *Massawomecks*. *Pawtuxunt R.* [*p.* 424.]

Our purposes were crossed in the discoverie of the river of *Toppahannock*, for wee had much wrangling with that peevish nation; but at last, they became as tractable as the rest. It is an excellent, pleasant, well inhabited, fertill, and a goodly navigable river. *Toppahannock R.* [*pp.* 119, 419, 426.]

Toward the head thereof, it pleased God to take one of our sicke (called Maister *Fetherstone*), where in Fetherstons bay, we buried him, in the night, with a volly of shot. The rest (notwithstanding their ill diet, and bad lodging, crowded in so small a barge, in so many dangers, neuer resting but alwaies tossed to[o] and againe) al well recovered their healthes. [*p.* 426.] *Fetherstone buried.*

Then we discovered the riuer of *Payankatank*, and set saile for *Iames* Towne. But in crossing the bay in a faire calme, such a suddaine gust surprised vs in the night, with thunder and raine, as wee were halfe imployed in freeing out water, never thinking to escape drowning; yet running before the winde, at last we made land by the flashes of fire from heaven: by which light only, we kept from the splitting shore, vntil it pleased God in that black darknes, to preserue vs by that light to find Point comfort. *Payankatanke discovered.* [*p.* 430.]

And [we] arived safe at *Iames* Towne, the 7 of September, 1608: where wee found Maister *Skriuener* and diverse others well recouered, many dead, some sicke; [and] the late President [a] prisoner for [**41**] muteny. By the honest diligence of Maister *Skriuener*, the harvest [had been] gathered; but the stores [and] provision [were] much spoiled with raine. *Their proceedings at Iames Towne.*

Thus was that yeare (when nothing wanted) consumed and spent, and nothing done (such was the government of Captain *Rat*[*c*]*liffe*) but only this discoverie: wherein to

[1608] [*p.* 433.] expresse all the dangers, accidents, and incounters, this small number passed in that small barge, with such watrie diet in these great waters and barbarous Countries (til then to any Christian vtterly vnknowne) I rather referre their merit to the censure of the courteous and experienced reader, than I would be tedious, or partiall being a partie.

By Nathaniell Po[w]ell, and Anas Todkill.

CHAPTER VII. [f. 433.]

The Presidencie surrendred to Captaine Smith. The arrivall and returne of the second supply: and what happened.

THE 10. of September 1608. by the election of the Councel, and request of the company, Captaine *Smith* received the letters patents, and tooke vpon him the place of President; which till then, by no meanes he would accept, though hee were often importuned therevnto. [1608]

Now the building of *Ratcliffes* pallas staide, as a thing needlesse: the church was repaired, the storehouse, re-couered; [and] building prepared for the supply we expected. The fort [was] reduced to the forme of this figure, the order of watch renued, the squadrons (each setting of the watch) trained. The [**42**] whole company every Satturday exercised in a fielde prepared for that purpose; the boates trimmed for trade, which in their Iourney encountred the second supply, that brought them back to discover the country of *Monacan*. *QVERE.* [f. 434.]

How, or why Captaine *Newport* obtained such a private commission as not to returne without a lumpe of gold, a certainty of the south sea, or one of the lost company of Sir *Walter Rawley*, I know not: nor why he brought such a 5. pieced barge, not to beare vs to that south sea, till we had borne her over the mountaines (which how farre they extend is yet vnknowne). As for the coronation of *Powhatan*, and his presents of Bason, Ewer, Bed, Clothes, and such costly nouelties; they had bin much better well

[1608] spared, then so ill spent: for we had his favour much better onlie for a poore peece of Copper, till this stately kinde of soliciting made him so much overvalue himselfe, that he respected vs as much as nothing at all.

Powhatans scorne when his curtesie was most deserved

As for the hiring of the Poles and Dutch, to make pitch and tarre, glasse, milles, and sope-ashes; [that] was most necessarie and well. But to send them and seauenty more without victuall, to worke, was not so well considered; yet this could not haue hurt vs, had they bin 200.; though then we were 130 that wanted for our selves. For we had the Salvages in that Decorum, (their haruest beeing newly gathered) that we feared not to get victual sufficient, had we bin 500.

No way but one to ouerthrowe the busines.

Now vvas there no way to make vs miserable but to neglect that time to make our provision, whilst it was to be had; the which vvas done to perfourme this strange discovery, but more strange coronation. To loose that time, spend that [**43**] victuall we had, tire and starue our men, having no means to carry victuall, munition, the hurt or sicke, but their owne backs: how or by whom they vvere invented I knovv not.

[*p.* 435.] But Captaine *Newport* we only accounted the author; who to effect these proiects, had so gilded all our hopes with great promises, that both company and Councel concluded his resolution. I confesse we little vnderstood then our estates, to conclude his conclusion against al the inconveniences the foreseeing President alleadged. There was added to the councell, one Captaine *Waldo*, and Captaine *Winne*; two ancient souldiers and valiant gentlemen, but ignorant of the busines, being newly arriued. *Ratcliffe* vvas also permitted to haue his voice; and *Maister Scrivener* [was] desirous to see strange countries. So that although *Smith* was President, yet the Councell had the authoritie, and ruled it as they listed.

As for cleering *Smiths* obiections, how pitch, and tarre, wa[i]nscot, clapbord, glasse, and sope ashes could be provided to relade the ship; or provision got to liue withal when none was in the Country, and that which we had, spent before the ships departed: the answer was, Captaine *Newport* vndertook to fraught the Pinnace with corne, in going and returning in his discoverie, and to refraught her

againe from *Werawocomoco*; also promising a great proportion of victuall from his ship, inferring that *Smiths* propositions were only devises to hinder his iourney, to effect it himselfe; and that the crueltie *Smith* had vsed to the Salvages in his absence, might occasion them to hinder his designes. For which, al workes were left, and 120 chosen men were appointed for his guard. [44] [1608]

Captaine Smith with 4 goeth to Powhatan.

And *Smith*, to make cleere these seeming suspicions, that the Salvages were not so desperat[e] as was pretended by Captaine *Newport*, and how willing he was to further them to effect their projects; because the coronation would consume much time, vndertooke their message to *Powhatan* (to intreat him to come to *Iames* Towne to receiue his presents) accompanied only with Captaine *Waldo*, *Maister Andrew Buckler*, *Edward Brinton*, and *Samuel Collier*. [p. 436.]

With these 4, hee went overland [to] against *Werawocomoco*, there passed the river of *Pamavnke* in the Salvages Canowes. *Powhatan* being 30 myles of[f]; who, presently, was sent for. In the meane time, his women entertained *Smith* in this manner.

The womens entertainement at Werawocomoco.

In a faire plaine field, they made a fire; before which, he sitting vppon a mat, suddainly amongst the woods was heard such a hideous noise and shriking, that they betooke them to their armes, supposing *Powhatan* with all his power came to surprise them: but the beholders, which were many, men women and children, satisfied the Captaine there was no such matter; being presently presented with this anticke.

30 young women came naked out of the woods (only covered behind and before with a few greene leaues), their bodies al painted, some white, some red, some black, some partie colour; but every one different. Their leader had a faire paire of stagges hornes on her head, and an otter skinne at her girdle, another at her arme, a quiver of arrowes at her backe, and bow and arrowes in her hand. The next, in her hand a sword; another, a club; another, a pot-stick: all horn[e]d alike. The rest, every one with their severall devises.

These feindes, with most hellish [45] cries and shouts, rushing from amongst the trees, cast themselues in a ring

[1608] about the fire, singing and dauncing with excellent ill varietie, oft falling into their infernall passions, and then solemnely againe to sing and daunce. Hauing spent neere an houre, in this maskarado; as they entered, [they] in like manner departed.

Hauing reaccomodated themselues, they solemnely invited Smith to their lodging: but no sooner was hee within the house, but all these Nimphes [the] more tormented him than ever, with crowding, and pressing, and hanging vpon him, most tediously crying, *loue you not mee.*

This salutation ended, the feast was set, consisting of fruit in baskets, fish and flesh in wooden platters; beans and pease there wanted not (for 20 hogges), nor any Salvage daintie their invention could devise: some attending, others singing and dancing about them.

This mirth and banquet being ended, with firebrands (instead of torches) they conducted him to his lodging.

[*p.* 437.] *Captain Smiths message.* The next day, came *Powhatan. Smith* delivered his message of the presents sent him, and redelivered him *Namontack*; desiring him [to] come to his Father *Newport* to accept those presents, and conclude their revenge against the *Monacans.*

Wherevnto the subtile Salvage thus replied

Powhatans answer.

> If your king haue sent me presents, I also am a king, and this [is] my land. 8 daies I will stay to receaue them. Your father is to come to me, not I to him; nor yet to your fort: neither will I bite at such a baite. As for the *Monacans*, I can revenge my owne iniuries; and as for *Atquanuchuck*, where you say your brother was slain[*pp.* 20, 28]; it is a contrary way from those parts you suppose it [**46**]. But for any salt water beyond the mountaines, the relations you haue had from my people are false.

Wherevpon he began to draw plots vpon the ground, according to his discourse, of all those regions.

Many other discourses they had (yet both desirous to giue each other content in Complementall courtesies), and so Captaine *Smith* returned with this answer.

Powhatans Coronation. Vpon this Captaine *Newport* sent his presents by water, which is neare[ly] 100 miles; with 50 of the best shot

himselfe went by land, which is but 12 miles; where he met with our 3 barges to transport him over. [1608]

All things being fit for the day of his coronation, the presents were brought, his bason, ewer, bed and furniture set vp: [and] his scarlet cloake and apparel (with much adoe) put on him, (being perswaded by *Namontacke* they would doe him no hurt). But a fowle trouble there was to make him kneele to receaue his crowne. He, neither knowing the maiestie nor meaning of a Crowne, nor bending of the knee, indured so many perswasions, examples, and instructions, as tired them all. At last, by leaning hard on his shoulders, he a little stooped, and *Newport* put the Crowne on his head; when, by the warning of a pistoll, the boates were prepared with such a volly of shot, that the king start[ed] vp in a horrible feare, till he saw all was well. Then remembring himselfe, to congratulate their kindnesse, [*p.* 438.] he gaue his old shoes and his mantle to Captain *Newport*.

But perceiuing his purpose was to discover the *Monacans*, hee laboured to divert his resolution; refusing to lend him either men or guides more then *Namontack*. And so, after some complementall kindnesse [**47**] on both sides, in requitall of his presents, he presented *Newport* with a heape of wheat eares, that might contain 7 or 8 bushels; and as much more we bought, ready dressed, in the town: wherewith we returned to the fort.

The discovery of Monacan.

The ship having disburdened her selfe of 70 persons, with the first gentlewoman and woman servant that arrived in our Colony; Captaine *Newport* with al the Councell, and 120 chosen men, set forward for the discovery of *Monacan*: leauing the President at the fort with 80. (such as they were) to relade the shippe.

Arriving at the falles, we marched by land some forty myles in 2 daies and a halfe; and so returned downe to the same path we went. Two townes wee discovered of the *Monacans*, the people neither vsing vs well nor ill: yet for our securitie wee tooke one of their pettie *Werowances*, and lead him bound, to conduct vs the way.

And in our returne [we] searched many places wee supposed mynes, about which we spent some time in refining; having one *William Callicut* a refiner, fitted for that pur-

[1608] pose. From that crust of earth wee digged, hee perswaded vs to beleeue he extracted some smal quantitie of siluer (and not vnlikely better stuffe might bee had for the digging). With this poore trial, we were contented to leaue this faire, fertill, well watred countrie.

Comming to the Falles, the Saluages fained there were diverse ships come into the Bay to kill them at *Iames* Towne. Trade they would not; and find their corn we could not, for they had hid it in the woods: and being thus deluded, we arriued at *Iames* Towne, halfe sicke, all complaining and tired with toile famine and discontent [**48**] to haue only but discovered our gilded hopes, and such fruitlesse certaineties, as the President foretold vs.

[*f.* 439.] No sooner were we landed, but the President dispersed [as] many as were able, some for glasse, others for pitch, tarre, and sope ashes; leaving them [*the rest*], with the fort, to the Councels oversight.

But 30 of vs he conducted 5. myles from the fort to learn to make clapboard, cut downe trees, and ly[e] in woods. Amongst the rest, he had chosen *Gabriell Beadell*, and *Iohn Russell* the only two gallants of this last supply, and both proper gentlemen. Strange were these pleasures to their conditions: yet lodging, eating, drinking, working, or playing, they doing but as the President, all these things were carried so pleasantly, as within a weeke, they became Masters; making it their delight to heare the trees thunder as they fell. But the axes so oft blistered their tender fingers, that commonly every third blow had a lowd oath to drowne the eccho: for remedy of which sin, the President devised howe to haue everie mans oathes numbered; and at night, for every oath to haue a can of water povvred downe his sleeue. VVith which, every offender vvas so vvashed (himselfe and all) that a man should scarse heare an oath in a weeke.

A punishment for swearing.

By this, let no man think that the President, or these gentlemen spent their times as common wood-hackers at felling of trees, or such like other labours; or that they were pressed to anything as hirelings or common slaues: for what they did (being but once a little inured), it seemed, and they conceited it, only as a pleasure and a recreation.

Yet 30 or 40 of such voluntary [**49**] Gentlemen would doe more in a day then 100 of the rest that must bee prest to it by compulsion. Master *Scrivener*, Captaine *Waldo*, and Captaine *Winne* at the fort; every one in like manner, carefully regarded their charge. [1608]

One gentleman better then 20 lubbers. [*p.* 440.]

The President, returning from amongst the woodes, seeing the time consumed, and no provision gotten, (and the ship lay Idle, and would do nothing), presently imbarked himselfe in the discovery barge; giuing order to the Councell, to send *Master Persey* after him, with the next barge that arrived at the fort. 2 barges he had himselfe, and 20 men. But arriving at *Chickahamina*, that dogged nation was too wel acquainted with our wants, refusing to trade with as much scorne and insolencie as they could expresse. The President perceiving it was *Powhatans* pollicy to starue vs, told them he came not so much for their corne, as to revenge his imprisonment, and the death of his men murdered by them [*p.* 16]. And so landing his men, and ready to charge them, they immediately fled. But then they sent their imbassadours, with corne, fish, fowl, or what they had, to make their peace: (their corne being that year bad) they complained extreamly of their owne wants; yet fraughted our boats with 100 bushels of corne, and in like manner *Master Persies*, that not long after vs arriued. They having done the best they could to content vs; within 4. or 5. daies, we returned to Iames Towne.

The Chickahamines forced to contribution.

Though this much contented the company (that then feared nothing but starving) yet some so envied his good successe, that they rather desired to starue, then his paines should proue so much more effectuall then [**50**] theirs. Some proiects there was, not only to haue deposed him but to haue kept him out of the fort; for that being President, he would leaue his place and the fort without their consents: but their hornes were so much too short to effect it, as they themselues more narrowly escaped a greater mischiefe.

A bad reward for well doing.

All this time our old taverne made as much of all them that had either mony or ware as could bee desired; and by this time they were become so perfect on all sides (I meane Souldiers, Sailers, and Salvages,) as there was ten times more care to maintaine their damnable and private trade, then to provide for the Colony things that were

A good tauerne in Virginia.

[*p.* 441.]

[1608] necessary. Neither was it a small pollicy in the mariners, to report in England wee had such plenty, and [to] bring vs so many men without victuall; when they had so many private factors in the fort, that within 6. or 7. weekes after the ships returne[*i.e., to Virginia*], of 2. or 300. hatchets, chissels, mattocks, and pickaxes, scarce 20 could be found: for pike-heads, kniues, shot, powder, or any thing (they could steale from their fellowes) was vendible. They knew as well (and as secretly) how to convay them to trade with the Salvages, for furres, baskets, mussaneekes, young beastes, for such like commodities; as exchange them with the sailers, for butter, cheese, biefe, porke, aquavitæ, beere, bisket, and oatmeale: and then faine, all was sent them from their friends. And though Virginia [hath] afford[ed] no furs for the store; yet one mariner in one voyage hath got so many, as hee hath confessed to haue solde in England for 30*l.*

A bad trade of masters and sailers.

Those are the Saint-seeming worthies of *Virginia*; [**51**] that haue notwithstanding all this, meate, drinke, and pay: but now they begin to grow weary, their trade being both perceived and prevented.

None hath bin in *Virginia* (that hath not observed any thing) which knowes not this to be true; and yet the scorne and shame was the poore souldiers, gentlemen, and carelesse governours, who were all thus bought and solde; the aduenturers cousened, and the action overthrowne by their false excuses, informations, and directions. By this let all the world Iudge how this businesse coulde prosper; being thus abused by such pilfering occasions.

The proceedings and accidents, with the second supply.

Skriueners voiage to Werawocomoco.

Master Scrivener was sent with the barges and Pinas to *Werawocomoco*, where he found the Salvages more ready to fight then trade: but his vigilancy was such, as prevented their proiectes, and by the meanes of *Namontack*, got 3. or 4. hogsheads of corne, and as much Red paint, which (then) was esteemed an excellent die.

Captaine *Newport* being dispatched with the tryals of pitch, tarre, glasse, frankincense, and sope ashes, with

that clapbord and wainscot [which] could bee provided, met with *Master Scrivener* at point Comfort, and so returned for England; leaving vs in all 200, with those hee brought vs. [1608] [p. 442.]

The names of those in this supply are these. [p. 445.]

Captaine Peter Winne.
Captaine Richard Waldo.
} *were appointed to bee of the Councell.* [52]

Gent.:
Master Francis West.
Thomas Graues.
Rawley Chroshaw.
Gabriell Bedle.
Iohn Russell.
Iohn Bedle.
William Russell.
Iohn Gudderington.
William Sambage.
Henry Collings.
Henry Ley.
Harmon Haryson.
Daniell Tucker.
Hugh Wollystone.
Iohn Hoult.
Thomas Norton.
George Yarington.
George Burton.
Henry Philpot.
Thomas Maxes.
Michaell Lowicke.
Master Hunt.
Thomas Forest.
William Dowman.
Iohn Dauxe.
Thomas Abbay.

Tradesmen [*i.e., Artizans*]:
Thomas Phelps.
Iohn Part.
Iohn Clarke.
Iefry Shortridge. [53]
Dius Oconor.
Hugh Wynne.
Davi[d] Vphu.
Thomas Bradley. [p. 446.]
Iohn Burras.
Thomas Lavander.
Henry Bell.
Master Powell.
Davi[d] Ellys.
Thomas Gipson.

Laborers.:
Thomas Dowse.
Thomas Mallard.
William Taler.
Thomas Fox.
Nicholas Hancock.
Walker.
Williams.
Morrell.
Rose.
Scot.
Hardwin.

Boys.:
Milman.
Hellyard.

Mistresse Forest and Anne Buras [*see p.* 130] *her maide*, 8. *Dutchmen and Poles, with divers to the number of* 70. *persons.*

Nansamund forced to contribution.

Those poore conclusions so affrighted vs all with famine, that the President provided for *Nansamund*. [He] tooke

[1608] with him Captaine *Winne*, and *Master Scrivener* (then returning from Captaine *Newport*).

These people also [**54**] long denied him trade (excusing themselues to bee so commanded by *Powhatan*) til we were constrained to begin with them perforce, and then they would rather sell vs some, then wee should take all. So loading our boats with 100 bushels, we parted friends, [*p.* 447.] and came to Iames Towne: at which time, there was a marriage betweene *Iohn Laydon* and *Anna Burrowes* [*see p.* 129]; being the first marriage we had in *Virginia*.

Long he staied not, but fitting himselfe and captaine *Waldo* with 2. barges [the President sought] from *Chawopo*, *weanocke* and all parts there, [where] was found neither corne nor Salvage, but all fled (being Iealous of our intents) till we discovered the river and people of *Appametuck*, where we found [but] little. That they had we equally devided betwixt the Salvages and vs, but gaue them copper in consideration.

Appamatucke discovered.

Master Persie and *Master Scrivener* went also abroad, but could finde nothing.

The President seeing this proc[r]astinating of time, was no course to liue, resolued with Captaine *Waldo* (who he knew to be sure in time of need), to surprise *Powhatan* and al his provision: but the vnwillingnes of Captaine *Winne*, and *Master Scrivener* (for some private respects), did their best to hinder their proiect.

But the President, whom no perswasions could perswade to starue, being invited by *Powhatan* to come vnto him: and if he would send him but men to build him a house, bring him a grin[d]stone, 50. swords, some peeces, a cock and a hen, with copper and beads; he would loade his shippe with corne.

The President not ignoraunt of his devises, yet vnwilling to neglect any opportunity, presently sent 3. Dutch-men and 2. English (having no victuals [**55**] to imploy them, all for want thereof being idle). Knowing there needed no better castel then that house, to surprize *Powhatan* [in]; to effect this project, he took order with Captaine *Waldo*, to second him, if need required. *Scrivener*, he left [as] his subsitute; and set forth with the Pinnas, 2. barges, and six and forty men, which only were such as voluntarily

offered themselues for his iourny: the which (by reason of *Master Scriveners* ill successe) was censured very desperate. They all knowing *Smith* would not returne empty howsoever, caused many of those that he had appointed to find excuses to stay behinde. [1608]

CHAPTER VIII. [f. 448.]

Captaine Smiths iourney to Pamavnke.

THE 29 of December [1608], hee set forward for *Werawocomoco.*: his company were these.

In the Discovery barge, *himselfe.*

Robert Behethland. *Nathaniell Powell.* *Iohn Russell.* *Rawly Crashaw.* *Michaell Sicklemore.* *Richard Worlie.*	Gent.	*Anas Todkill.* *VVilliam Loue.* *VVilliam Bentley.* *Geoffrey Shortridge.* *Edward Pising.* *VVilliam VVarde.*	Sould. [56]

In the Pinnace.

Master George Persie, brother to the Earle of Northumberland; Master Frauncis VVest, brother to the Lord De-la-Ware.

VVilliam Phetiplace, Captaine of the Pinnas.

Ionas Profit, Master.

Robert Ford, clarcke of the councell.

Michaell Phetiplace. *Geoffrey Abbot*, Serg. *VVilliam Tankard.* *George Yarington.* *Iames Bourne.* *George Burton.* *Thomas Coe.*	Gent.	*Iohn Dods.* *Edward Brinton.* *Nathaniel Peacocke.* *Henry Powell.* *David Ellis.* *Thomas Gipson.* *Iohn Prat.*	Sould.

[1608–9]

George Acrigge.	Sould.	*Anthony Baggly*, Serg.	Sould.
Iames Reade.		*Thomas Lambert.*	
Nicholas Hancocke.		*Edward Pising*, Serg.	
Iames VVatkins.		[Pising was in the barge, see previous page.]	

4. *Dutchmen and Richard Salvage were sent by land, to build the house for Powhatan against our arrivall.*

This company being victualled but for 3. or 4. daies, [57] lodged the first night at *Weraskoyack*; where the President tooke sufficient provision.

This kind Salvage did his best to divert him from seeing *Powhatan*: but perceiuing he could not prevaile, he advised in this manner

[c. 4to] *The good counsell of Weraskoyack.*

> Captaine *Smith*, you shall finde *Powhatan* to vse you kindly, but trust him not; and bee sure hee haue no opportunitie to seaze on your armes, for hee hath sent for you only to cut your throats.

The Captaine thanked him for his good counsell; yet the better to try his loue, desired guides to *Chowanoke*, for he would sent a present to that king to bind him his friend. To performe this iourney, was sent *Michael Sicklemore*, a very honest, valiant, and painefull soldier: with him, two guid[e]s, and directions howe to search for the lost company of Sir *Walter Rawley*, and silke grasse.

Then wee departed thence, the President assuring the king [of] his perpetuall loue; and left with him *Samuell Collier* his page, to learne the language.

The next night being lodged at *Kecoughtan*, [for] 6 or 7 daies, the extreame wind, raine, frost, and snowe caused vs to keepe Christmas amongst the Salvages: where wee were never more merrie, nor fedde on more plentie of good oysters, fish, flesh, wild foule, and good bread; nor never had better fires in England then in the drie warme smokie houses of *Kecoughtan*.

Plentie of victuall.

[Christmas ends on 6 Jan.]

But departing thence, when we found no houses, we were not curious [*fastidious*] (in any weather) to lie, 3 or 4 nights together, vpon any shore, vnder the trees, by a good fire. 148 fowles, the President, *Anthony Bagly*, and *Edward Pising* [*the two Serjeants*] did kill at 3 shoots.

148 *Fowles killed at 3 shoots.*

At *Kiskiack*, the frost forced vs 3 or 4 daies, also to

suppresse the insolencie of those [58] proud Salvages, to quarter in their houses and guard our barge, and [to] cause them to giue vs what wee wanted: yet were we but 12 with the President, and yet we neuer wanted harbour [*shelter*] where we found any houses. [1609]

The 12 of Ianuarie [1609], we arrived at *Werawocomoco*, where the river was frozen neare halfe a mile from the shore. But to neglect no time, the President with his barge, so farre had approached, by breaking the Ice, as the eb[b] left him amongst those oozie shoules: yet, rather then to lie there frozen to death, by his owne example, hee taught them to march middle deepe, more then a flight shot, through this muddie froye ooze. When the barge flo[a]ted, he appointed 2 or 3 to returne her abo[a]rd the Pinnace; where, for want of water, in melting the salt ice they made fresh water. But in this march, Master [*Iohn*] *Russell* (whome none could perswade to stay behind) being somewhat ill and exceeding[ly] heavie, so overtoiled him selfe, as the rest had much adoe (ere he got a shore) to regain life into his dead benummed spirits. [*p.* 450.]

An ill march.

Quartering in the next houses we found, we sent to *Powhatan* for provision; who sent vs plentie of bread, Turkies, and Venison.

The next day, hauing feasted vs after his ordinarie manner; he began to aske, when we would bee gon[e], faining [*feigning*] hee sent not for vs: neither had hee any corne, and his people much lesse; yet for 40 swords he would procure vs 40 bushels.

The President, shewing him the men there present, that brought him the message and conditions, asked him, how it chaunced he became so forgetful: thereat, the king concluded the matter with a merry laughter, asking for our commodities; but none he liked without gunnes and swords, [59] valuing a basket of corne more pretious then a basket of copper, saying he could eate his corne, but not his copper.

Powhatans subteltie.

Captaine *Smith* seeing the intent of this subtil Saluage, began to deale with him after this manner.

Captaine Smithes discourse to Powhatan.

Powhatan, though I had many courses to haue made my provision; yet beleeving your promises to supply my wants, I neglected all, to satisfie your

[1609] desire: and to testifie my loue, I sent you my men for your building, neglecting my owne. What your people had, you haue engrossed, forbidding them our trade; and nowe you thinke by consuming the time, wee shall consume for want, not hauing [wherewith] to fulfill your strange demandes. As for swords and gunnes, I told you long agoe, I had none to spare. And you shall knowe, those I haue, can keepe me from want: yet steale, or wrong you, I will not; nor dissolue that friendship wee haue mutually promised, except you constraine mee by your bad vsage.

Powhatans reply and flattery. [*p.* 451.]

The king hauing attentiuely listned to this discourse, promised that both hee and his Country would spare him what they could; the which within 2 daies, they should receaue. Yet, Captaine *Smith*, (saith the king) some doubt I haue of your comming hither, that makes me not so kindly seeke to relieue you as I would: for many do informe me, your comming is not for trade, but to invade my people and possesse my Country: who dare not come to bring you corne, seeing you [are] thus armed with your men. To cleere vs of this feare, leaue abord your weapons; for here they are needlesse, we being all friends and for ever *Powhatans*. [**60**]

With many such discourses, they spent the day, quart[e]ring that night in the kings houses.

The next day, he reviewed his building, which hee little intended should proceed. For the Dutchmen finding his plenty, and knowing our want; and perceiuing his preparation to surprise vs, little thinking wee could escape both him, and famine: to obtaine his favour, reuealed to him as much as they knew of our estates and proiects, and how to prevent them. One of them being of so good a iudgement, spirit, and resolution (and a hireling that was certaine of wages for his labour; and ever well vsed, both he and his countrimen) that the President knewe not whome better to trust; and, not knowing any fitter for that imploiment, had sent him as a spie, to discover *Powhatans* intent, then little doubting his honestie; nor could ever be certaine of his villany till neare halfe a yeare after [*p.* 150].

Whilst we expected the comming in of the countrie, we wrangled out of the king 10 quarters of corne for a copper kettle; the which the President perceiving him much to effect, valued it at a much greater rate, but (in regard of his scarcety) hee would accept of as much more the next yeare, or else the country of *Monacan*. The King exceeding liberall of that hee had not, yeelded him *Monacan*. Wherewith each seeming well contented, *Powhatan* began to expostulate the difference betwixt peace and war, after this manner. [1609]

Powhatans discourse of peace and warre.

Captaine *Smith*, you may vnderstand that I, hauing seene the death of all my people thrice, and not one living of those 3 generations but my selfe, I knowe the difference of peace and warre better then any in my [**61**] Countrie. But now I am old, and ere long must die. My brethren, namely *Opichapam*; *Opechankanough*, and *Kekataugh*, my two sisters, and their two daughters, are distinctly each others successours. I wish their experiences no lesse then mine, and your loue to them, no lesse then mine to you: but this bru[i]te from *Nansamund*, that you are come to destroy my Countrie, so much affrighteth all my people, as they dare not visit you. What will it availe you to take that perforce, you may quietly haue with loue, or to destroy them that provide you food? What can you get by war, when we can hide our provision and flie to the woodes, whereby you must famish, by wronging vs your friends? And whie are you thus iealous of our loues, seeing vs vnarmed, and both doe, and are willing still to feed you with that you cannot get but by our labours? Think you I am so simple not to knowe it is better to eate good meate, lie well, and sleepe quietly with my women and children, laugh and be merrie with you, haue copper, hatchets, or what I want, being your friend; then bee forced to flie from al, to lie cold in the woods, feed vpon acorns roots and such trash, and be so hunted by you that I can neither rest eat nor sleepe, but my tired men must watch, and if a twig but breake, everie one crie, there comes Captaine *Smith*: then must I flie I knowe not whether, and thus with miserable feare end my [*f.* 452.]

[1609] miserable life, leauing my pleasures to such youths as you, which, through your rash vnadvisednesse, may quickly as miserably ende, for want of that you never knowe how to find? Let this therefore assure you of our loues, and everie yeare our friendly trade shall furnish you [**62**] with corne; and now also if you would come in friendly manner to see vs, and not thus with your gunnes and swords, as to invade your foes.

C. Smiths reply To this subtil discourse, the President thus replied.

Seeing you will not rightly conceaue of our words, wee striue to make you knowe our thoughts by our deeds. The vow I made you of my loue, both my selfe and my men haue kept. As for your promise I finde it everie daie violated by some of your subiects; yet wee finding your loue and kindnesse, our custome is so far from being vngratefull, that for your sake only, wee haue curbed our thirsting desire of revenge, else had they knowne as wel the crueltie we vse to our enimies as our true loue and curtesie to our friendes. And I thinke your iudgement sufficient to conceiue, as well by the adventures we haue vndertaken, as by the advantage we haue by our armes, of yours: that had wee intended you anie hurt, long ere this we coulde haue effected it. Your people comming to me at *Iames* towne, are entertained with their bowes and arrowes without exception; we esteeming it with you, as it is with vs, to weare our armes as our apparell.

[*A.* 453.] As for the dangers of our enimies, in such warres consist[s] our chiefest pleasure. For your riches we haue no vse. As for the hiding [of] your provision, or by your flying to the woods; we shall [not] so vnadvisedly starue as you conclude: your friendly care in that behalfe is needlesse, for we haue a rule to finde beyond your knowledge.

Manie other discourses they had, til at last they began to trade. But the king seing his will would not bee admitted as a lawe, our guard [not] dispersed, nor our men [**63**] disarmed; he, sighing, breathed his mind once more, in this manner.

Captaine *Smith*, I neuer vsed anie of *Werowances* so

kindlie as your selfe; yet from you, I receaue the least kindnesse of anie. Captaine *Newport* gaue me swords, copper, cloths, a bed, tooles, or what I desired; ever taking what I offered him: and would send awaie his gunnes when I intreated him. None doth denie to laie at my feet, or do, what I desire, but onelie you; of whom I can haue nothing but what you regard not: and yet you wil haue whatsoeuer you demand. Captain *Newport* you call father, and so you call me: but I see, for all vs both, you will doe what you list, and wee must both seeke to content you. But if you intend so friendlie as you saie, sende hence your armes that I may beleeue you: for you see the loue I beare you, doth cause mee thus nakedlie [to] forget my selfe. [1609]

Powhatans importunitie for to haue them vnarmed, to betray them.

Smith (seeing this Salvage but trifled the time, to cut his throat) procured the Salvages to breake the ice, that his boat might come to fetch both him and his corne; and gaue order for his men to come ashore, to haue surprised the king: with whom also, he but trifled the time till his men landed; and to keepe him from suspition, entertained the time with this reply.

Powhatan, you must knowe as I haue but one God, I honour but one king: and I liue not here as your subiect, but as your friend to pleasure you with what I can. By the gifts you bestowe on me, you gaine more then by trade: yet would you visite mee as I doe you, you should knowe it is not our customes to sell our curtesie as a vendible commoditie. Bring all your Country [**64**] with you for your g[u]ard, I will not dislike of it as being over iealous. But to content you, to-morrow I will leaue my armes, and trust to your promise. I call you father indeed, and as a father you shall see I will loue you: but the smal care you had of such a child, caused my men perswade me to shift for my selfe.

C. Smiths discourse to delay time, that hee might surprise Powhatan.

[The last time Smith sees Powhatan.]

By this time, *Powhatan* having knowledge [that] his men were readie; whilst the ice was breaking, his luggage, women and children fledde. And to avoid suspition [he] left 2 or 3 of his women talking with the Captaine; whilst he secretly fled, and his men as secretlie beset the house. Which being at the instant discovered to Captaine *Smith*;

Powhatans plot to haue murdered Smith.

[*p.* 454.]

[1609] with his Pistol, Sword and Target, he made such a passage amongst those naked divels that they fled before him, some one waie, some another: so that without hurt, he obtained [*reached*] the Corps du guard.

When they perceiued him so well escaped, and with his 8 men (for he had no more with him), to the vttermost of their skill, they sought by excuses to dissemble the matter. And *Powhatan*, to excuse his flight and the suddaine comming of this multitude, sent our Captaine a greate bracelet and a chaine of pearle, by an ancient Orator that bespoke vs to this purpose (perceiving then from our Pinnace, a barge and men departing and comming vnto vs.)

A chaine of perle for a present.

> Captaine Smith, our *Werowans* is fled, fearing your guns; and knowing [that] when the ice was broken, there would come more men, sent those of his, to guard his corne from the pilfrie that might happen without your knowledge. Now though some bee hurt by your misprison; yet he is your friend, and so wil continue. And since the ice is open, hee would haue you send awaie [**65**] your corne; and if you would haue his companie, send also your armes, which so affrighteth this people that they dare not come to you, as he hath promised they should.

Nowe having prouided baskets for our men to carrie the corne, they kindlie offered their service to g[u]ard our armes, that none should steale them. A great manie they were, of goodlie well appointed fellowes, as grim as divels: yet the verie sight of cocking our matches against them, and a few words, caused them to leaue their bowes and arrowes to our gu[a]rd, and beare downe our corne on their own backes. Wee needed not importune them to make quick despatch.

Pretending to kill our men lo[a]ded with baskets, we forced the Salvages [to] carrie them.

But our own barge being left by the ebb, caused vs to staie till the midnight tide carried vs safe abo[a]rd [*i.e., by the side of the Pinnace*].

Hauing spent that halfe night with such mirth as though we never had suspected or intended anything; we left the Dutchman to build, *Brinton* to kil fowle for *Powhatan* as by his messengers he importunately desired; and left directions with our men to giue *Powhatan* all the content they could, that we might inioy his company at our returne from *Pamaunke*.

[*p.* 455.]

CHAPTER IX.

[*p.* 456.]

How we escaped surprising at Pamavnke.

WEE had no sooner set saile, but *Powhatan* returned, and sent *Adam* and *Francis* (2. stout Dutch men) to the fort: who fained to Captaine *VVinne* that al things were well, and that Captaine *Smith* had vse for their armes: wherefore they requested newe [**66**] (the which were giuen them). They told him their comming was for some extraordinary tooles and shift of apparell. By this colourable excuse, they obtained 6. or 7. more to their confederacie, such expert theefes that presently furnished them with a great many swords, pike-heads, peeces, shot, powder, and such like. They had Salvages at hand ready to carry it away. The next day, they returned vnsuspected, leaving their confederates to follow; and, in the interim, to convay them a competencie of all things they could: for which service, they should liue with *Powhatan* as his chiefe affected, free from those miseries that would happen [to] the Colony. [1609]

The dutch men deceaue C. Smith.

Samuell their other consort, *Powhatan* kept for their pledge; whose diligence had prouided him [*Powhatan*] 300. of their kinde of hatchets; the rest, 50. swords, 8. peeces, and 8. pikes.

Brinton and *Richard Salvage* seeing the Dutch-men so strang[e]ly diligent to accommodate the Salvages [with] these weapons, attempted to haue got to *Iames* Towne; but they were apprehended.

Within 2. or 3. daies, we arrived at *Pamavnke:* the king [*i.e., Opechancanough*] as many daies entertained vs with feasting and much mirth.

And the day he appointed to begin our trade, the President, with *Master Persie, Master West, Master Russell, Master Beheathland, Master Powell, Master Crashaw, Master Ford,* and some others, to the number of 15., went vp to *Opechancanoug*[*h*]*s* house (near a quarter of a mile from the river); where we [*the writers of this portion of the Work, pp.* 148, 131, *were evidently of this party*] founde nothing but a lame fellow and a boy, and all the houses about, of all things abandoned.

Opechancanoughs abandoned.

[1609] Not long we staide ere the king arrived, and after him, came divers of his people loaded with bowes and arrowes; but such pinching commodities, and those [p. 457.] esteemed at such a value [67], as our Captaine beganne with him, in this manner.

Smiths speech to Opechancanough.

Opechancanough, the great loue you professe with your tongue, seemes meere deceipt by your actions. Last yeare, you kindly fraughted our ship; but now you haue invited me to starue with hunger. You know my want; and I, your plenty: of which, by some meanes, I must haue part. Remember it is fit for kings to keepe their promise. Here are my commodities, whereof take your choice: the rest I will proportion fit bargaines for your people.

The king seemed kindly to accept this offer; and the better to colour his proiect, sold vs what they had to our own content: promising the next day, more company, better provided.

The barges and Pinnas being committed to the charge of *Master Phetiplace*: the President, with his old 15, marched vp to the kings house; where we found 4 or 5 men newly come with great baskets.

Not long after came the king, who, with a strained cheerefulnes, held vs with discourse, what paines he had taken to keepe his promise, till *Master Russell* brought vs in news that we were all betraied, for at least 6. or 700. of well appointed Indians had invironed the house and beset the fields.

700 Salvages beset the English being but 16.

The king coniecturing what *Russell* related, we could wel perceiue how the extremity of his feare bewrayed his intent. Whereat, some of our companie seeming dismaide with the thought of such a multitude, the Captaine incouraged vs after this manner.

Smiths speech to his company.

Worthy countrymen, were the mischiefes of my seeming friends no more then the danger of these enemies, I little cared, were they as many more, if you [68] dare do but as I. But this is my torment, that if I escape them, our malicious councell, with their open-mouthed minions, will make mee such a peace-breaker (in their opinions) in England, as

wil break my neck. I could wish those here, that make these seeme Saints, and me an oppressor. But this is the worst of all, wherin I pray, aide me with your opinions. Should wee begin with them and surprize this king, we cannot keep him and defend well our selues. If we should each kill our man, and so proceede with al[l] in this house, the rest will all fly: then shall we get no more then the bodies that are slaine, and then starue for victuall. As for their fury, it is the least danger. For well you know, being alone assaulted with 2 or 300 of them, I made them compound to saue my life; and we are now 16 and they but 700. at the most; and assure your selues God wil so assist vs, that if you dare but to stande to discharge your peeces, the very smoake will bee sufficient to affright them. Yet howsoever, if there be occasion, let vs fight like men, and not die like sheep: but first I will deale with them to bring it to passe, we may fight for something, and draw them to it by conditions. If you like this motion, promise me youle [*you will*] be valiant. [1609] *p.* 458.]

The time not permitting any argument, all vowed to execute whatsoever he attempted, or die. Wherevpon the captaine approaching the king, bespoke him in this manner.

Smiths offer to Opechancanough.

I see *Opechancanough*, your plot to murder me; but I feare it not. As yet your men and mine haue done no harme but by our directions. Take therefore your arms, you see mine. My body shalbe as naked as yours, [**69**] the Ile in your river is a fit place, if you be contented; and the conqueror, of vs two, shalbe Lord and Master over all our men. Otherwaies drawe all your men into the field, if you haue not enough, take time to fetch more; and bring what number you will, so everie one bring a basket of corne: against all which, I will stake the value in copper. You see I haue but 15 men, and our game shalbe, the conqueror take all.

Opechancanoughs devise to betray Smith

The king, being guarded with 50 or 60 of his chiefe men, seemed kindly to appease *Smiths* suspition of vnkindnesse, by a great present at the dore, they intreated him to receiue. This was to draw him without the dore, where

[1609] the present was g[u]arded with at the least 200 men, and 30 lying under a greate tree that lay thwart as a Barricado, each [with] his arrow nocked ready to shoot.

Some, the President commanded to go and see what kinde of deceit this was, and to receiue the present; but they refused to do it: yet divers offered, whom he would not permit: but commanding *Master Persie* and *Master VVest* to make good the house, tooke *Master Po[w]ell* and *Master Beheathland* to guard the dore; and in such a rage, [*f.* 459.] snatched the king by his vambrace in the midst of his men, with his pistoll ready bent against his brest. Thus he led the trembling king, neare dead with feare, amongst all his people; who delivering the Captaine his bow and arrowes, all his men were easily intreated to cast downe their armes, little dreaming anie durst in that manner haue vsed their king: who then, to escape himselfe, bestowed his presents in good sadnesse.

And hauing caused all his multitude to approach disarmed, the President argued with them to this effect. [70]

Smiths discourse to the Pamaunkies.

I see, you *Pamavnkies*, the great desire you haue to cut my throat, and my long suffering [of] your iniuries haue imboldened you to this presumption. The cause I haue forborne your insolencies is the promise I made you, before the God I serue, to be your friend, till you giue me iust cause to bee your enimie. If I keepe this vow, my God will keepe mee; you cannot hurt me: if I breake it, he will destroie me. But if you shoot but one arrow to shed one drop of blood of any of my men, or steale the least of these beades or copper I spurne before me with my foot; you shall see, I wil not cease revenge, if once I begin, so long as I can heare where to find one of your nation that will not deny the name of *Pamavnke*. I am not now at *Rasseneac* [*pp.* 17, 21], halfe drownd with mire, where you tooke me prisoner: yet then, for keeping your promise, and your good vsage, and saving my life, I so affect you, that your denials of your treacherie doth half perswade me to mistake my selfe. But if I be the marke you aime at, here I stand, shoote hee that dare. You promised to fraught my ship ere I departed; and so you shall, or I meane to load her

with your dead carkases. Yet if as friends you wil come and trade, I once more promise not to trouble you, except you giue me the first occasion. [1609]

The Salvages dissemble their intent.

Vpon this, awaie went their bowes and arrowes ; and men, women, and children brought in their commodities. But 2 or three houres they so thronged about the President, and so overwearied him, as he retired himself to rest, leaving *Master Beheathland* and *Master Powel* to accept their presents.

But some Salvage perceiving him fast asleepe, and the guard carelessly dispersed, 40 or 50 of their choice men [**71**], each with an English sword in his hand, began to enter the house; with 2 or 300 others that pressed to second them. The noise and hast[e] they made in, did so shake the house as they awoke him from his sleep ; and being halfe amazed with this suddaine sight, [he] betooke him straight to his sword and target, *Master Crashaw* and some other[s] charging in like manner, they thronged faster back, then before forward. The house thus clensed, the king and his ancients, with a long oration came to excuse this intrusion. [*p.* 460.]

Their excuse and reconcilement.

The rest of the day was spent with much kindnesse: the company againe renuing their presents of their best provision. And whatsoever we gaue them, they seemed well contented with it.

Now in the meane while, since our departure, this hapned at the fort.

Master Scriuener willing to crosse the surprizing of *Powhatan*, 9 daies after the Presidents departure [*i.e. on 7 January* 1609], would needs visit the Ile of hogges ; and took with him Captaine *Waldo* (though the President had appointed him to bee readie to second his occasions) with *Master Antony Gosnoll* and eight others : but so violent was the wind (that extreame frozen time) that the boat sunke; but where, or how, none doth knowe, for they were all drowned. Onlie this was knowne, that the Skiffe was much overloaded, and would scarse haue lived in that extreme tempest had she beene emptie : but by no perswasion could hee bee diverted, though both *Waldo* and 100 others doubted [*feared*] as it hapned.

The losse of Master Skriuener and others with a Skiffe.

[1609] The Salvages were the first that found their bodies, which so much the more encouraged them to effect their proiects.

To advertise the President of this heavie [**72**] newes, none could bee found [that] would vndertake it: but the iourney was often refused of all in the fort, vntill *Master Wiffin* vndertooke alone the performance thereof. Wherein he was encountred with many dangers and difficulties; and in all parts as hee passed, as also that night he lodged with *Powhatan*, [he] perceived such preparation for warre that assure him some mischiefe was intended: but with extraordinarie bribes and much trouble, in three daies travell, at length, he found vs [*apparently about 22 January* 1609] in the midst of these turmoiles.

Master Wiffin his iourney to the President.

[f. 461.]

This vnhappie newes, the President swore him to conceale from the rest; and so, dissembling his sorrow with the best countenance he could, when the night approached, [he] went safely abord with all his companie.

Powhatan constraineth his men to be treacherous.

Now so extreamely *Powhatan* had threatned the death of his men, if they did not, by some meanes, kill Captaine *Smith*, that the next day they appointed the Countrie should come to trade vnarmed: yet vnwilling to be treacherous but that they were constrained, hating fighting almost as ill as hanging; such feare they had of bad successe.

The next morning, the sunne had not long appeared, but the fieldes appeared covered with people, and baskets to tempt vs ashore. The President determined to keepe abo[a]rd; but nothing was to bee had without his presence, nor would they not indure the sight of a gun.

Their third attempt to betray vs.

Then the President, seeing many depart, and being vnwilling to lose such a booty, so well contrived the Pinnace and his barges with Ambuscadoes; as only with *Master Persie*, *Master West*, and *Master Russell* armed, he went ashore. Others vnarmed, he appointed to receiue what was brought. The Salvages flocked [**73**] before him in heapes, and (the bancke serving as a trench for retreat) hee drewe them faire open to his ambuscadoes.

For he not being to be perswaded to go to visit their king, the King [*Opechancanough*] came to visit him, with 2 or 300 men, in the forme of two halfe-moons, with some 20 men and many women loaded with great painted baskets. But

when they approached somewhat neare vs, their women and children fled. For when they had environed and beset the fieldes in this manner, they thought their purpose sure; yet so trembled with fear as they were scarse able to nock their arrowes. *Smith* standing with his 3 men readie bent, beholding them till they were within danger of our ambuscado; who, vpon the word, discovered themselues, he retiring to the banke: which the Salvages no sooner perceived, but away they fled, esteeming their heeles for their best advantage. [1609] [p. 462.]

That night, we sent to the fort *Master Crashaw* and *Master Foard* [*evidently in one of the barges*]; who, in the midway betweene *Werawocomoco* and the fort, met 4 or 5. of the Dutch mens confederates going to *Powhatan*: the which (to excuse those gentlemens Suspition, of their running to the Salvages) returned to the fort, and there continued [*p.* 150].

The Salvages hearing our barge depart in the night, were so terriblie afraide that we [had] sent for more men (we having so much threatned their ruine, and the rasing of their houses, boats, and canowes), that the next day the King [*Opechancanough*] sent our Captaine a chaine of pearle to alter his purpose and stay his men; promising, though they wanted themselues, to fraught our ship, and to bring it abo[a]rd to avoid suspition: so that, 5 or 6 daies after, [**74**] from al parts of the countrie within 10 or 12 miles, in the extreame cold frost and snow, they brought vs provision on their naked backes. *A chaine of pearle sent to obtaine peace.*

Yet notwithstanding this kindnesse and trade, had their art and poison bin sufficient, the President with *Master West* and some others had been poysoned. It made them sicke but expelled it selfe. *The President Poysoned.*

Wecuttanow, a stout yong fellow, knowing hee was suspected for bringing this present of poison, with 40 or 50. of his choice companions, seeing the President with but a few men at *Pontavncat*, so prowdlie braved it, as though he expected to incounter a revenge. Which the President perceiving, in the midst of his companie, did not onlie beat, but spurned him like a dogge, as scorning to doe him any worse mischiefe: wherevpon all of them fled into the woods, thinking they had done a great matter to haue so well escaped; and the townsmen remaining *The offender punished*

[1609] presentlie fraughted our barge, to bee rid of our companies, framing manie excuses to excuse *Wecuttanow*, being son to their chiefe king but *Powhatan*, and told vs if we would shew them him that brought the poyson, they would deliver him to vs to punish as wee pleased.

Men maie thinke it strange there should be this stir for a little corne: but had it been gold with more ease wee might haue got it; and had it wanted, the whole colonie [*p.* 463.] had starved. We maie be thought verie patient to indure all those iniuries. Yet onlie with fearing them, we got what they had: whereas if we had taken revenge, then by their losse, we should haue lost our selu[e]s.

We searched also the countries of *Youghtanund* and [**75**] *The Salvage want and poverty.* *Mattapamient*, where the people imparted what little they had with such complaints and tears from women and children, as he had bin too cruell to be a Christian that would not haue bin satisfied and moved with compassion.

But had this happened in October, November, and December, when that vnhappie discoverie of *Monacan* was made; wee might haue fraughted a ship of 40 tuns, and twice as much might haue bin had from the rivers of *Toppahannock*, *Patawomeck*, and *Pawtuxunt*.

The maine occasion of our temporizing with the Salvages was to part friends, as we did, to giue the lesse cause of suspition to *Powhatan* to fly: by whom we now returned, with a purpose to haue surprised him and his provision. For effecting whereof, when we came against the towne, the President sent *Master Wiffin* and *Master Coe* a shore, to discover and make waie for his intended project.

The Dutchmen did much hurt. But they found that those damned Dutchman had caused *Powhatan* to abandon his new house and *werawocomoco*, and to carrie awaie all his corne and provision: and the people, they found, by their means, so ill affected, that had they not stood well vpon their guard, they had hardlie escaped with their liues.

So the President finding his intention thus frustrated, and that there was nothing now to be had, and therefore an vnfit time to revenge their abuses, helde on his course for *Iames* Towne: we having in this Iornie (for 25l[bs.] of copper [and] 50l[bs.] of Iron and beads) kept 40 men 6. weekes [*i.e.*, *from* 29 *Dec.* 1608 *to about* 8 *Feb.* 1609] ;

and dailie feasted with bread, corne, flesh, fish, and fowle. Everie man having for his reward (and in consideration of his commodities) a months provision, no trade being allowed but for the store; and we [**76**] delivered at Iames Towne to the Cape Marchant, 279 bushels of corne. [1609]

Those temporall proceedings, to some maie seeme too charitable, to such a dailie daring trecherous people; to others vnpleasant that we washed not the ground with their blouds, nor shewed such strange inventions in mangling, murdering, ransaking, and destroying (as did the Spaniards) the simple bodies of those ignorant soules; nor delightful, because not stuffed with relations of heaps and mines of gold and siluer, nor such rare commodities as the Portugals and Spaniards found in the East and West Indies. The want wherof hath begot vs, that were the first vndertakers, no lesse scorne and contempt, than their noble conquests and valiant aduentures (beautified with it), praise and honor. Too much, I confesse, the world cannot attribute to their ever memorable merit. And to cleare vs from the worlds blind ignorant censure, these fewe words may suffise to any reasonably vnderstanding. [A. 464.]

It was the Spaniards good hap to happen in those parts where were infinite numbers of people, whoe had manured the ground with that providence that it afforded victuall at all times; and time had brought them to that perfection [that] they had the vse of gold and silver, and [of] the most of such commodities as their countries affoorded: so that what the Spaniard got was only the spoile and pillage of those countrie people, and not the labours of their owne hands.

But had those fruitfull Countries beene as Salvage, as barbarous, as ill-peopled, as little planted laboured and manured, as *Virginia*; their proper labours, it is likely would haue [**77**] produced as small profit as ours. But had *Virginia* bin peopled, planted, manured, and adorned with such store of pretious Iewels and rich commodities as was the Indies: then, had we not gotten and done as much as by their examples might bee expected from vs, the world might then haue traduced vs and our merits,

[1609] and haue made shame and infamy our recompence and reward.

But we chanced in a lande, even as God made it. Where we found only an idle, improvident, scattered people, ignorant of the knowledge of gold, or silver, or any commodities; and carelesse of anything but from hand to mouth, but for baubles of no worth: nothing to encourage vs but what accidentally wee found nature afforded. Which ere wee could bring to recompence our paines, defray our charges, and satisfie our adventurers; [p. 465.] we were to discover the country, subdue the people, bring them to be tractable civil and industrious, and teach them trades that the fruits of their labours might make vs recompence, or plant such colonies of our owne that must first make provision how to liue of themselues ere they can bring to perfection the commodities of the countrie: which doubtless will be as commodious for England as the west Indies for Spaine, if it be rightly managed; notwithstanding all our home-bred opinions that will argue the contrarie, as formerly such like haue done against the Spaniards and Portugals.

But to conclude, against all rumor of opinion I only say this for those that the three first yeares began this plantation: notwithstanding al their factions, mutenies, and miseries, so gently corrected [78] and well prevented, pervse the Spanish *Decades*, the relations of *Master Hacklu[y]t*; and tell mee how many ever, with such smal meanes as a barge of 2 Tunnes, sometimes with 7. 8. 9, or but at most 15 men, did ever discover so many faire and navigable rivers, subiect so many severall kings people and nations to obedience and contribution, with so little bloud shed.

And if in the search of those Countries, wee had hapned where wealth had beene, we had as surely had it, as obedience and contribution; but if wee haue overskipped it, we will not envy them that shall chance to finde it. Yet can wee not but lament it was our ill fortunes to end, when wee had but only learned how to begin, and found the right course how to proceed.

By Richard Wiffin, William Phettiplace, and Anas Todkill.

CHAPTER X.

How the Salvages became subiect to the English

WHen the shippes departed [*November*, 1608], al the provision of the store but that the President had gotten, was so rotten with the last somers rain, and eaten with rats and wormes as the hogs would scarsely eat it; yet it was the souldiers diet till our returnes: so that wee found [**79**] nothing done, but victuall spent, and the most part of our tooles, and a good part of our armes convayed to the Salvages. [1609] [*p.* 466.]

But now, casting vp the store [*the discovery of the rottenness &c., of the corn in the casks was later on, see p.* 155], and finding sufficient till the next harvest, the feare of starving was abandoned: and the company [being] divided into tennes, fifteenes, or as the businesse required, 4 houres each day was spent in worke, the rest in pastimes and merry exercise.

But the vntowardnesse of the greatest number caused the President to make a generall assembly; and then he advised them as followeth.

The Presidents advise to the company.

Countrimen, the long experience of our late miseries, I hope is sufficient to perswade every one to a present correction of himselfe; and thinke not that either my pains, or the adventurers purses, will ever maintaine you in idlenesse and sloth. I speake not this to you all; for diverse of you, I know, deserve both honor and reward better then is yet here to bee had; but the greater part must be more industrious, or starue. Howsoever you haue bin heretofore tolerated by the authoritie of the Councell from that I haue often commanded you: yet seeing nowe the authoritie resteth wholly in my selfe, you must obay this for a law, that he that will not worke, shall not eate, except by sicknesse he be disabled. For the labours of 30 or 40 honest and industrious men shall not bee consumed to maintaine 150 idle varlets. Now though you presume the authoritie here is but a shaddow, and that I dare not touch the liues of any but my own

[This speech was evidently made after the death of the last surviving member of the Council, Captain *Winne*, see *p.* 157. E. A.]

[1609] must answer it; the letters patents each week shall be read [to] you, whose contents will tell you the contrary. I would wish you therefore, without contempt, seeke to obserue these orders [**80**] set downe; for there are now no more Councells to protect you, nor curbe my indeauors. Therefore hee that offendeth, let him assuredly expect his due punishment.

Hee made also a table [*notice board*] as a publike memoriall of every mans deserts, to encourage the good, and with shame to spurne on the rest to amendment. By this, many became very industrious: yet more by severe punishment performed their businesse; for all were so tasked, that there was no excuse could prevail to deceiue him.

Yet the Dutchmens consorts so closely still convai[e]d [*p.* 467.] powder, shot, swords, and tooles; that though we could find the defect, we could not find by whom it was occasioned, till it was too late.

The Dutchmens plot to murder Capt. Smith. All this time, the Dutchmen remaining with *Powhatan*, received them, instructing the Salvages [in] their vse. But their consorts not following them as they expected [*p.* 145], to know the cause, they sent *Francis* their companion, a stout young fellow, disguised Salvage like, to the glasse-house, a place in the woods neere a myle from *Iames* Towne, where was the randavus for all their vnsuspected villany.

40 men, they procured of *Powhatan* to lie in Ambuscadoe for Captaine *Smith*; who no sooner heard of this Dutchman, but hee sent to apprehend him.

Who found he was gon[e]; yet to crosse his returne to *Powhatan*, Captaine *Smith* presently dispatched 20 shot after him. And then returning but from the glasse-house alone, hee incountred the King of *Paspaheigh*, a most strong stout Salvage; whose perswasions not being able to perswade him to his ambush, seeing him only armed but with a fauchion, attempted to haue shot him. But the President prevented his shot [**81**] by grapling with him; and the Salvage as well prevented him from drawing his fauchion, and perforce bore him into the river to haue drowned him. Long they struggled in the water, from whence the king perceiving two of the Poles vpon the sandes, would haue fled: but the President held him by

Smith taketh the king of Paspaheigh prisoner

the haire and throat til the Poles came in. Then seeing howe pittifully the poore Salvage begged his life, they conducted him prisoner to the fort. [1609]

The Dutchman ere long was also brought in, whose villany (though all this time it was suspected), yet he fained such a formall excuse that for want of language [*i.e.*, *Dutch*], *Win* [*ne*] had not rightly vnderstood them: and for their dealings with *Powhatan*, that to saue their liues, they were constrained to accommodate [him with] his armes; of whome he extreamely complained to haue detained them perforce, and that hee made his escape with the hazard of his life, and meant not to haue returned but only walked in the woods to gather walenuts.

Yet for all this faire tale, there was so smal appearance of truth, hee went by the heeles [*was put in irons*].

The king also he put in fetters, purposing to regaine the Dutch-men, by the saving [of] his life. [*p.* 468.]

The poore Salvage did his best, by his daily messengers to *Powhatan*, but all returned that the Dutchmen would not return: neither did *Powhatan* stay them; and [to] bring them fiftie myles on their backes [*i.e.*, *overland from Orapaks*], they were not able. Daily this kings wiues children and people came to visit him with presents, which hee liberally bestowed to make his peace. Much trust they had in the Presidents promise: but the king finding his g[u]ard negligent, though fettered yet escaped.

Captain *Win* thinking to pursue [**82**] him, found such troopes of Salvages to hinder his passages, as they exchanged many volies of shot for flights of arrowes.

Captaine *Smith* hearing of this, in returning to the fort, tooke two Salvages prisoners: the one called *Kemps*, the other *Kinsock*; the two most exact villaines in the countrie.

With those, Captaine *Win* and 50 chosen men attempted that night to haue regained the king, and revenged his iniurie.

And so had done, if he had followed his directions, or bin advised by those two villaines (that would haue betraied both their king and kindred for a peece of copper); but hee trifling away the night, the Salvages, the next morning by the rising of the sunne, braved him [to] come a shore to fight. A good time both sides let flie

[1609] at other; but wee heard of no hurt. Only they tooke two Canows, burnt the kings house; and so returned.

The President fearing those bravadoes would but incourage the Salvages, begun himself to trie his conclusions; whereby 6 or 7 Salvages were slaine, [and] as many made prisoners. [He] burnt their houses; tooke their boats with all their fishing weares, and planted them at *Iames* Towne for his owne vse: and now resolved not to cease till he had revenged himselfe vpon al that had iniured him.

The Salvages desire peace.

But in his iourney, passing by *Paspaheigh* towards *Chickahamina*, the Salvages did their best to draw him to their ambuscadoes: but seeing him regardlesly passe their Countrey, all shewed themselues in their bravest manner, [*p.* 469.] to trie their valours. He could not but let flie, and ere he could land, the Salvages no sooner knewe him, but they threw downe their armes and desired peace. Their Orator was a stout young man [83] called *Ocanindge*; whose worthie discourse deserveth to be remembered. And this it was.

Ocanindge his Oration.

> Captaine *Smith*, my master is here present in this company, thinking it Captaine *Win*, and not you; and of him, hee intended to haue beene revenged, having never offended him. If hee haue offended you in escaping your imprisonment, the fishes swim, the fowles flie, and the very beastes striue to escape the snare and liue: then blame not him being a man. Hee would entreat you remember your being a prisoner [*p.* 16], what paines he tooke to saue your life. If since he hath iniured you, he was compelled to it; but, howsoever, you haue revenged it with our too great losse. We perceiue and well knowe you intend to destroy vs, that are here to intreat and desire your friendship, and to enjoy our houses and plant our fields, of whose fruit you shall participate: otherwise you will haue the worst by our absence. For we can plant any where, though with more labour; and we know you cannot liue if you want our haruest and that reliefe wee bring you. If you promise vs peace, we will beleeue you; if you proceed in reveng[e], we will abandon the Countrie.

Vpon these tearmes the President promised them peace till they did vs iniury, vpon condition they should bring in provision. So all departed good friends, and so continued till *Smith* left the Countrie. [1609]

Ariving at *Iames* Towne, complaint was made to the President that the *Chickahaminos*, who al this while continued trade and seemed our friendes, by colour thereof were the only theeues; and amongst other things, a pistol being stolne and the theefe fled, there [**84**] were apprehended 2 proper young fellows that were brothers, knowne to be his confederat[e]s. *A Saluage smothered at Iames Towne, and was recovered.*

Now to regain this pistoll, the one we imprisoned; the other was sent, to returne againe within 12 houres, or his brother to be hanged. Yet the President pittying the poore naked Salvage in the dungeon, sent him victuall and some charcole for fire.

Ere midnight his brother returned with the pistoll: but the poore Salvage in the dungeon was so smothered with the smoke he had made, and so pittiously burnt that wee found him dead. The other most lamentably bewailed his death, and broke forth in such bitter agonies, that the President, to quiet him, told him that if hereafter they would not steal, he wo[u]ld make him aliue againe: but [he] little thought hee could be recovered. Yet we doing our best with aquavitæ and vineger, it pleased God to restore him againe to life: but so drunke and affrighted that he seemed lunaticke, not vnderstanding any thing hee spoke or heard; the which as much grieved and tormented the other, as before to see him dead. Of which maladie, vpon promise of their good behaviour afterward, the President promised to recover him; and so caused him to be laid by a fire to sleepe: who in the morning, hauing well slept, had recovered his perfect senses. [*f.* 470.]

And then being dressed of his burning, and each a peece of copper given them; they went away so well contented, that this was spread amongst all the Salvages for a miracle, that Captaine *Smith* could make a man aliue that is dead.

These and many other such pretty accidents so amazed and affrighted both *Powhatan* and all his people, that from all parts with presents they desired peace; [**85**]

[1609] returning many stolne things which wee neither demaunded nor thought of. And after that, those that were taken stealing, both *Powhatan* and his people haue sent them backe to *Iames* Towne to receiue their punishment; and all the countrie became absolutely as free for vs, as for themselues.

[*p.* 471.]

CHAPTER XI.

What was done in three monthes hauing victuall. The store deuoured by rats. How we lived 3 monthes of such naturall fruits as the countrie afforded.

More done in 3 monthes than 3 yeares.

NOW wee so quietly followed our businesse that in 3 monthes, we made 3 or 4 Last of pitch, and tarre, and sope ashes; produced a triall of glasse; made a well in the forte of excellent sweete water, which till then was wanting; built some 20 houses; re-couered our Church; provided nets and weares for fishing; and to stop the disorders of our disorderly theeues and the Salvages, built a blocke house in the necke of our Ile, kept by a garrison, to entertaine the Salvages trade, and none to passe or repasse, Salvage nor Christian, without the Presidents order; 30 or 40 acres of ground, we digged and planted; of 3 sowes, in one yeare increased 60 and od[d] pigges; and neere 500 chickens brought vp themselues, without hauing any meate giuen them: but the hogges were transported to Hog Ile, where also [**86**] we built a blocke house, with a garrison, to giue vs notice of any shipping; and for their exercise, they made clapbord, wainscot, and cut downe trees against the ships comming.

We built also a fort for a retreat, neare a convenient river, vpon a high commanding hill, very hard to be assaulted, and easie to be defended: but ere it was halfe finished, this defect caused a stay.

In searching our casked corne, wee found it halfe rotten·

and the rest so consumed with the many thousand rats, increased first from the ships, that we knewe not how to keepe that little wee had. This did driue vs all to our wits ende; for there was nothing in the countrie but what nature afforded. [1609]

Vntill this time *Kemps* and *Tassore* were fettered prisoners, and daily wrought; and taught vs how to order and plant our fields: whom now, for want of victuall, we set at libertie; but so wel were they vsed, that they little desired it.

And to express their loues, for 16 daies continuance, the Countrie brought vs (when least) 100 a daie of squirrils, Turkies, Deare, and other wilde beastes. But this want of corne occasioned the end of all our workes, it being worke sufficient to provide victuall. [*p.* 472.]

60 or 80 with Ensigne *Laxon* were sent downe the river to liue vpon oysters: and 20 with leiftenant *Percie* to trie for fishing at point Comfort, but in 6 weekes, they would not agree once to cast out their net. *Master West*, with as many, went vp to the falles; but nothing could bee found but a fewe berries and acornes. Of that in the store, every one had their equall proportion.

Till this present, by the hazard and endeavour of some 30 or 40, this whole number had ever been fed. Wee had more Sturgeon then [**87**] could be devoured by dogge and man; of which, the industrious by drying and pownding, mingled with caviare, sorrel and other wholsome hearbs, would make bread and good meate. Others would gather as much *Tockwough* roots in a day as would make them bread a weeke. So that of those wilde fruites, fish, and berries these lived very well, in regard of such a diet. *The pains of 40 fed 150.*

But such was the most strange condition of some 150, that had they not beene forced nolens volens perforce to gather and prepare their victuall, they would all haue starved, and haue eaten one another. Of those wild fruites, the Salvages often brought vs: and for that the President would not fulfill the vnreasonable desire of those distracted lubberly gluttons, to sell not only our kettles, howes, tooles, and Iron, nay swords, peeces, and the very ordenance and houses (might they haue prevailed but to haue beene but idle) for those salvage fruits, they would haue imparted all to the Salvages.

[1609] Especially for one basket of corne they heard of to bee at *Powhatans*, 50 myles from our fort: though he bought neere halfe of it to satisfie their humours; yet to haue had the other halfe, they would haue sold their soules, though not sufficient to haue kept them a weeke. Thousands were their exclamations, suggestions, and devises to force him to those base inventions, to haue made it an occasion to abandon the Countrie.

Their desire to destroy themselues.

Want perforce constrained him to indure their exclaiming follies, till he found out the author, one *Dyer* [*p.* 168], a most craftie knaue, and his ancient maligner; whom he worthely punished: and with the rest, he argued the case, in this manner, [88

[*p.* 473.]

The Presidents speech to the drones.

Fellow souldiers, I did little thinke any so false to report, or so many so simple to be perswaded, that I either intend to starue you; or that *Powhatan* at this present hath corne for himselfe, much lesse for you; or that I would not haue it, if I knewe where it were to be had. Neither did I thinke any so malitious as nowe I see a great many: yet it shall not so much passionate me, but I will doe my best for my worst maligner. But dreame no longer of this vaine hope from *Powhatan*; nor that I wil longer forbeare to force you from your Idlenesse, and punish you if you raile. You cannot deny but that by the hazard of my life, many a time I haue saued yours; when (might your owne wils haue prevailed) you would haue starved, and will doe still whether I will or no. But I protest by that God that made me, since necessitie hath not power to force you to gather for your selu[e]s those fruits the earth doth yeeld; you shall not only gather for your selues, but for those that are sicke. As yet I never had more from the store then the worst of you, and all my English extraordinarie provision that I haue [*i.e.*, *his private stock*], you shall see mee devide among the sick.

And this Salvage trash you so scornfully repine at, being put in your mouthes, your stomacks can digest it; and therefore I will take a course you shall provide it. The sicke shal not starue, but equally share of all our labours; and every one that

gathereth not every day as much as I doe, the next daie, shall be set beyond the river, and for ever bee banished from the fort: and liue there or starue. [1609]

This order, many murmured, was very cruell. But it caused the most part so well [to] bestir themselues that [89] of 200 men (except they were drowned), there died not past 7 or 8. *But 7 of 200 died in 9 months.*

As for Captaine *Win* and *Master Ley*, they died ere this want happened: and the rest died not for want of such as preserued the rest. [*p.* 474.]

Many were billitted among the Salvages, whereby we knewe all their passages, fieldes, and habitations; how to gather and vse their fruits as well as themselues.

So well those poore Salvages vsed vs, that were thus Billited, as divers of the souldiers ran away, to search *Kemps* our old prisoner. Glad was this Salvage to haue such an occasion to testifie his loue, for insteed of entertaining them and such things as they had stolne, with all the great offers and promises they made them (to revenge their iniuries vpon Captaine *Smith*): First, he made himselfe sport, in shewing his countrymen, by them, how he was vsed; feeding them with this law, who would not worke must not eat, till they were neere starved; continuallie threatning to beate them to death. Neither could they get from him, til perforce he brought them to our Captaine, that so we contented him, and punished them; as manie others that intended also to haue followed them, were rather contented to labour at home then adventure to liue Idle among the Salvages: of whom there was more hope to make better christians and good subiects, then the one halfe of those that counterfeited themselues both. *The Salvages returne our fugitiues.*

For so afeard were all those kings and the better sorte of their people to displease vs, that some of the baser sort that we haue extreamelie hurt and punished for their villanies, would hire vs, that we should not tell it to their kings or countrymen, who would also repunish [90] them, and yet returne them to Iames Towne to content the President, by that testimonie of their loues.

[1609] *Master Sicklemore* well returned from *Chawonock*, but found little hope and lesse certainetie of them [that] were left by Sir *Walter Rawley* [*in* 1587]. So that *Nathaniell* [*f.* 475.] *Powell* and *Anas Todkill* were also, by the *Quiyough-*
Search for them sent by Sir Walter Rawley. *quohanocks*, conducted to the *Mangoages* to search them there. But nothing could we [*evidently Powell and Todkill are the writers of this part of this Work*] learne but they were all dead.

This honest, proper, good promis[e]-keeping king, of all the rest, did euer best affect vs, and though to his false Gods he was yet very zealous; yet he would confesse, our God as much exceeded his, as our guns did his bowe and arrowes: often sending our President manie presents to praie to his God for raine, or his corne would perish; for his Gods were angrie all this time.

To reclaime the Dutchmen, and one *Bentley* an other fugitiue, we imploied one *William Volda* (a *Switzer* by birth), with pardons and promises to regaine them. Li[t]tle we then suspected this double villanie of anie villain, who plainly taught vs, in the most trust was the greatest treason. For this wicked hypocrit[e], by the seeming
The Dutchmens proiects. hate he bore to the lewd condition of his cursed countrimen, hauing this opportunitie, by his imploiment to regaine them, conveighed them everie thing they desired to effect their proiect to destroie the colonie.

With much devotion they expected the *Spanyard*, to whom they intended to haue done good service. But to begin with the first op[p]ortunitie, they seeing necessitie thus inforced vs to disperse our selues, importuned *Powhatan* to lend them but his forces, and they would not onlie destroie our hogs, fire our towne, and betraie [**91**] our Pinnas: but bring to his service and subiection the most part of our companies. With this plot they had acquainted manie discontents [*discontented*]; and manie were agreed to their divelish practise. But *Thomas Douese* and *Thomas Mallard*, whose christian harts much relenting at such an vnchristian act, voluntarily reuealed it to Captaine [*f.* 476.] *Smith*: who did his best it might be concealed, perswading *Douese* and *Malard* to proceed in the confederacie, onlie to bring the irrecla[i]mable Dutch men and inconstant Sal-

vages in such a maner amongst his ambuscadoes as he had prepared, as not manie of them shoulde ever haue returned from out [of] our peni[n]sula. [1609]

But this bru[i]te comming to the ears of the impatient multitude, they so importuned the President to cut of[f] those Dutchmen, as amongst manie that offered to cut their throates before the face of *Powhatan*, *Master Wiffin* and *Iefra Ab[b]ot* were sent to stab or shoot them. *Two gentlemen sent to kill them* [*p.* 508.]

But these Dutch men made such excuses, accusing *Volday* (whom they supposed had revealed their project), as *Abbot* would not; yet *Wiffin* would, perceiving it but deceipt.

The king vnderstanding of this their imploiment, sent presentlie his messengers to Captaine *Smith* to signifie it was not his fault to detaine them, nor hinder his men from executing his command; nor did he, nor would he maintaine them or anie, to occasion his displeasure.

But ere this busines was brought to a point, God having seene our misery sufficient, sent in Captaine *Argall* to fish for Sturgion, with a ship well furnished with wine and bisket; which, though it was not sent vs, such were our occasions we tooke it at a price: but left him sufficient to [**92**] returne for England. Still dissembling *Valdo* his villany; but certainlie hee had not escaped, had the President continued.

By this you may see, for all those crosses, treacheries, and dissentions; howe he wrastled and overcame (without bloud shed) all that hapned: also what good was done, how few died, what food the country naturally affordeth; what small cause there is men should starue, or be murdered by the Salvages, that haue discretion to manage this [*their*] courage and industry. [*p.* 477.] *Note these inconveniences.*

The 2. first years though by his adventures he had oft brought the Salvages to a tractable trade, yet you see how the envious authority ever crossed him, and frustrated his best endeavours. Yet this wrought in him that experience and estimation among the Salvages, as otherwaies it had bin impossible he had ever effected that he did.

Though the many miserable yet generous and worthy adventures he had long and oft indured as wel in some

[1609] parts of *Africa* and *America*, as in the most partes of *Europe* and *Asia*, by land or sea, had taught him much: yet, in this case, he was againe to learne his Lecture by experience; which with thus much a doe having obtained, it was his ill chance to end when hee had but onlie learned how to begin.

And though hee left these vnknowne difficulties (made easie and familiar) to his vnlawfull successors; whoe onlie by living in Iames Towne, presumed to know more then al the world could direct them; though they had all his souldiers, with their triple power, and twise triple better
[p. 478.] meanes: by what they haue done in his absence, the world doth see; and what they would haue done in his [**93**] presence, had he not prevented their indiscretions—it doth iustlie approue what cause he had to send them for England.

But they haue made it more plaine since their returne: having his absolute authoritie freely in their power, with all the advantages and opportunity that his labours had effected. As I [? *A. Todkill*] am sorry their actions haue made it so manifest, so am I vnwilling to say what reason doth compell me to make apparant the truth, least I should seeme partial, reasonlesse, or malitious.

CHAPTER XII. [p. 470.]

The Ar[r]ival of the third supply.

TO redresse those iarres and ill proceedings, the Councell in England altered the governement: and devolved the authoritie to the Lord *De-la-ware*. Who for his deputie, sent Sir *Thomas Gates* and Sir *George Somers*. [1609]

The alteration of the governement.

With 9 ships and 500 persons, they set saile from England in May 1609. A small catch perished at sea in a *Herycano*. The Admiral [*flagship*], with 150 men, with the two knights and their new commission, their bils of loading with al manner of directions, and the most part of their provision, ar[r]ived not. With the other 7, as Captaines, ar[r]ived *Rat[c]liffe* (whose right name was *Sickelmore*), *Martin*, and *Archer*: who as they had been troublesome at sea, beganne againe to marre all ashore. [p. 479.]

The loss of Virginia.

[pp. xciv, xcviii.]

For though, as is said [*pp.* 105, 107, 408, 411, 444], they were formerly deposed and sent for England: yet now [**94**] returning againe, graced by the title of *Captaines of the passengers*, seeing the admirall [*flagship*] wanting, and great probabilitie of her losse, strength[e]ned themselues with those newe companies, so railing and exclaiming [to them] against Captaine *Smith*, that they mortally hated him ere ever they see his face.

Who vnderstanding by his scouts, the ar[r]ivall of such a fleet, little dreaming of any such supply, supposing them Spaniards, hee so determined and ordered his affaires as wee little feared their ar[r]ivall, nor the successe of our

[1609] incounter: nor were the Salvages any way negligent or vnwilling to aide and assist vs with their best power.

The Salvages offer to fight under our coulors.

Had it so beene, wee had beene happy. For we would not haue trus[t]ed them but as our foes; whereas receiving those as our countriemen and friends, they did their best to murder our President [*p.* 166], to surprise the store, the fort, and our lodgings; to vsurp the governement, and make vs all their servants, and slaues to our owne merit.

Mutinie.

[*p.* 480] To 1000 mischiefes these lewd Captaines [*Ratcliffe, &c.*] led this lewd company, wherein were many vnruly gallants packed thether by their friends to escape il destinies: and those would dispose and determine of the governement, sometimes one [way], the next day another, to day the old commission, to morrow the new, the next day by neither. In fine, they would rule all or ruine all. Yet in charitie, we must endure them thus to destroy vs; or by correcting their follies, haue brought the worlds censure vpon vs, to haue beene guiltie of their bloods. Happy had we bin had they never arrived, and we for ever abandoned and (as we were) left to our fortunes: for on earth was never more confusion or miserie then their factions occasioned. [**95**]

The President seeing the desire those braues had to rule, seeing how his authoritie was so vnexpectedly changed, would willingly haue left all and haue returned for England: but seeing there was smal hope this newe commission would ar[r]iue, longer hee would not suffer those factious spirits to proceed.

It would bee too tedious, too strange, and almost incredible, should I particularly relate the infinite dangers, plots, and practises hee daily escaped amongst this factious crue; the chiefe whereof he quickly laid by the heeles, til his leasure better served to doe them iustice.

[*p.* 481.] *The planting [of] Nansamund.*

And to take away al occasions of further mischiefe, *Master Persie* had his request granted, to returne for England: and *Master West* with 120 went to plant at the falles; *Martin* with neare as many to *Nansamund*; with their due proportions of all provisions, according to their numbers.

A plantation at the falles.

Now the Presidents yeare being neere expired, he made *Martin* President: who knowing his own insufficiencie; and the companies scorne, and conceit of his vnworthinesse;

within 3 houres, [he] resigned it againe to Captane *Smith*: and at *Nansamund* thus proceeded. [1609]

The people being contributers vsed him kindly. Yet such was his iealous feare and cowardize, in the midst of his mirth, hee did surprize this poore naked king, with his monuments, houses, and the Ile he inhabited; and there fortified himselfe, but so apparantly distracted with fear as imboldned the Salvages to assa[u]lt him, kill his men, redeeme their king, gather and carrie away more then 1000 bushels of corne, hee not once daring to intercept them: but sent to the President, then at the Falles, for 30 good shotte, which from *Iames* [**96**] towne immediat[e]ly were sent him. But hee so well imploid them, as they did iust nothing; but returned, complaining of his childishnesse, that with them fled from his company [*the* 120], and so left them to their fortunes. *The breach of peace with the Salvages.*

Master West hauing seated his men at the Falles, presently returned to revisit *Iames* Towne. The President met him by the way, as he followed him to the falles: where he found this company so inconsiderately seated in a place, not only subiect to the rivers invndation, but round invironed with many intollerable inconveniences.

For remedy whereof, he sent presently to *Powhatan*, to sell him the place called *Powhatan*, promising to defend him against the *Monacans*, and these should be his conditions. *Powhatan sold for copper.*

> [He] with his people, to resigne him the fort and houses and all that countrie for a proportion of copper. That all stealing offenders should bee sent him, there to receiue their punishment. That every house as a custome should pay him a bushell of corne for an inch square of copper, and a proportion of *Pocones* as a yearely tribute to King *Iames* for their protection, as a dutie: what else they could spare, to barter at their best discreation. [*p.* 482.]

But both this excellent place and those good conditions did those furies refuse, contemning both him, his kind care, and authoritie. The worst they could to shew their spite, they did. I doe more then wonder to thinke how only with 5 men, he either durst, or would adventure as he did (knowing how greedy they were of his blood) to land *Mutinies.* 5 *suppresse* 120.

[1609] amongst them, and commit to imprisonment the greatest spirits amongst them, till by their multitudes, being 120, they forced him to retire. [97] Yet in that retreate, hee surprised one of the boates, wherewith hee returned to their shippe wherein was their provisions, which also hee tooke. And well it chaunced hee found the marriners so tractable and constant, or there had beene small possibility he had ever escaped.

Notwithstanding there were many of the best, I meane of the most worthy in Iudgement, reason, or experience, that from their first landing, hearing the generall good report of his old souldiers, and seeing with their eies his actions so wel managed with discretion (as Captaine *Wood*, Captaine *Web*, Captaine *Mone*, Captaine *Phitz-Iames*, *Master Partridge*, *Master White*, *Master Powell*, and divers others): when they perceived the malice and condition of *Rat[c]liffe*, *Martin*, and *Archer*, left their factions, and ever rested his faithfull friends.

The breach of peace with the Salvages at the Falls.

But the worst was, the poore Salvages that dailie brought in their contribution to the President. That disorderlie company so tormented those poore naked soules, by stealing their corne, robbing their gardens, beating them, breaking their houses, and keeping some prisoners, that they dailie complained to Captaine *Smith* he had [*f.* 483.] brought them for protectors worse enimies then the *Monocans* themselues: which though till then, for his loue, they had indured, they desired pardon, if hereafter they defended themselues, since he would not correct them, as they had long expected he would. So much they importuned him to punish their misdemeano[u]res, as they offered, if hee would conduct them, to fight for him against them.

But having spent 9. daies [*Aug.–Sept.* 1609] in seeking to reclaime them, shewing them how much they did abuse themselues [98] with their great guilded hopes of seas, mines, commodities, or victories they so madly conceiued; then, seing nothing would prevaile with them, he set saile for *Iames* Towne.

An assault by the Salvages.

Now no sooner was the ship vnder saile, but the Salvages assaulted those 120 in their fort, finding some strag[g]ling abroad in the woods, they slew manie; and so affrighted

the rest as their prisoners escaped, and they scarse retired, with the swords and cloaks of these they had slaine. [1609]

But ere we [*Pots and Phettiplace were evidently with Smith here*] had sailed a league, our shippe grounding, gaue vs once more libertie to summon them to a parlie. Where we found them all so strangelie amazed with this poore simple assault as they submitted themselues vpon anie tearmes to the Presidents mercie: who presentlie put by the heeles 6 or 7 of the chiefe offenders.

The rest he seated gallantlie at *Powhatan* in their Salvage fort, [which] they [*the Savages had*] built and pretilie fortified with poles and barkes of trees sufficient to haue defended them from all the Salvages in *Virginia*, drie houses for lodgings, 300 acres of grounde readie to plant; and no place so strong, so pleasant and delightful in *Virginia*, for which we called it Nonsuch. *The planting of Nonsuch.*

The Salvages also he presentlie appeased, redelivering to every one their former losses. *New peace concluded.*

Thus al were friends, new officers appointed to command, and the President againe readie to depart. [*p.* 484.

But at that instant arrived *Master West*, whose good nature, with the perswasions [of] and compassion of [*for*] those mutinous prisoners, was so much abused, that to regaine their old hopes, new turboiles arose. For the rest, being possessed of al their victuall, ammunition and everie thing; they grow to that height in their former factions, as there the President [**99**] left them to their fortunes: they returning againe to the open aire at West Fort, abandoning Nonsuch; and he to *Iames* Towne with his best expedition.

But this hapned him in that Iournie [*about the beginning of September* 1609]. Sleeping in his boat, for the ship was returned 2 daies before, accidentallie one fired his powder bag; which tore his flesh from his bodie and thighes 9. or 10. inches square, in a most pittifull manner: but to quench the tormenting fire, frying him in his cloath[e]s, he leaped over board into the deepe river, where ere they could recover him, he was neere drown[e]d. In this estat[e], without either Chirurgeon or chirurgery, he was to go neare 100. miles [*the distance by water from Powhatan to James Town*]. *C. Smith blowne vp with powder.*

Ar[r]iving at *Iames* Towne, causing all things to bee prepared for peace or warres, [and] to obtain provision.

[1609] Whilest those things were providing, *Martin*, *Rat*[*c*]*liffe*, and *Archer* being to haue their trials, their guiltie consciences fearing a iust reward for their deserts, seeing the President vnable to stand, and neare bereft of his senses by reason of his torment; they had plotted to haue murdered him in his bed. But his h[e]art did faile him [*Coe or Dyer, see p.* 168], that should haue given fire to that mercilesse pistol.

A bloody intent.

So, not finding that course to be the best, they ioined togither to vsurp the governement, thereby to escape their punishment, and excuse themselues by accusing him.

The President had notice of their proiects, the which to withstand, though his old souldiers importuned him but [to] permit them to take of[f] their heads that would resist his commaund; yet he would not permit them: but sent for the masters of the ships, and tooke order with them, for his returne for England.

The governement vsurped. [*p.* 485.]

Seeing there was neither chirurgeon nor chirurgery [**100**] in the fort to cure his hurt, and the ships to depart the next daie; his commission to be suppressed, he knew not why; himselfe and souldiers to be rewarded, he knew not how; and a new commission graunted, they knew not to whom, the which so disabled that authority he had, as made them presume so oft to those mutinies and factions as they did. Besides so grievous were his wounds and so cruell his torment [that] few expected he could liue; nor was hee able to follow his businesse, to regaine what they had lost, suppresse those factions, and range the countries for provision as he intended, and well he knew in those affaires his own actions and presence were as requisit[e] as his experience and directions, which now could not be: he went presently abo[a]rd, resolving there to appoint them governours, and to take order for the mutine[e]rs and their confederates. Who seeing him gone, perswaded *Master Persie* to stay, and be their President: and within lesse then an howre was this mutation begun and concluded.

[The only legal member of the Council at this time was Smith. It was a revolt against Law.

For when the company vnderstood *Smith* would leaue them, and see the rest in Armes called Presidents and councellors; diuers began to fawne on those new commanders, that now bent all their wits to get him [to] resigne them his commission. Who, after many salt and

bitter repulses, that their confusion should not be attributed to him (for leaving the country without government and authority), having taken order to bee free from danger of their malice, he was not vnwilling they should steale it from him, but never consented to deliver it to any. [1609]

The causes why Smith left the countrie and his Commission.

But had that vnhappy blast not hapned, he would quickly haue quallified the heate of [**101**] those humors and factions, had the ships but once left them and vs to our fortunes; and haue made that provision from among the Salvages as we neither feared Spanyard, Salvage, nor famine: nor would have left *Virginia*, nor our lawfull authoritie, but at as deare a price as we had bought it, and paid for it.

What shall I say? but thus we lost him that, in all his proceedings, made Iustice his first guid[e], and experience his second; ever hating basenesse, sloth, pride, and indignitie more then any dangers; that never allowed more for himselfe then his souldiers with him; that vpon no danger, would send them where he would not lead them himselfe; that would never see us want what he either had, or could by any meanes get vs; that would rather want then borrow, or starue then not pay; that loved actions more than wordes, and hated falshood and cous[e]nage worse then death; whose adventures were our liues, and whose losse our deathes. [*p.* 486.

Leaving vs [4 *Oct.* 1609] thus, with 3 ships, 7 boates, commodities ready to trade, the harvest newly gathered, 10 weekes provision in the store, 490 and odde persons, 24 peeces of ordinances, 300 muskets snaphanches and fire lockes, shot powder and match sufficient; curats, pikes, swords, and moryons more then men; the Salvages their language and habitations wel knowne to 100 well trained and expert souldiers, nets for fishing, tooles of all sortes to worke, apparell to supply our wants, 6 mares and a horse, 5 or 600 swine, as many hens and chicken, some goates, some sheep. What was brought or bread there remained.

But they regarded nothing but from hand to mouth, to consume that we had. [They] tooke care for nothing [**102**], but to perfit some colourable complaints against Captaine *Smith*. For effecting whereof, 3 weekes longer [*i.e.*, 13 *Sept. to* 4 *Oct.* 1609, *see p.* xcviii], they stayed the 6 ships till they

[1609] could produce them. That time and charge might much better haue beene spent; but it su[i]ted well with the rest of their discreations.

Their complaints and proofe against him. Now all those *Smith* had either whipped, punished, or any way disgraced, had free power and liberty to say or sweare any thing; and from a whole armefull of their examinations this was concluded.

The mutine[e]rs at the Falles complained he caused the Salvages [to] assa[u]lt them, for that hee would not revenge their losse (they being but 120, and he 5 men and himselfe): and this they proved by the oath of one hee had oft whipped for periurie and pilfering.

The dutchmen that he had appointed to bee stab[be]d for their treacheries, swore he sent to poison them with rats baine.

The prudent Councel that he would not submit himselfe to their stolne authoritie. *Coe* [*p.* 146] and *Dyer* [*pp.* 156, 472] that should haue murdered him [*p.* 166], were highly preferred for swearing they heard one say, he heard *Powhatan* say, that he heard a man say, if the king would not send that corne he had [*p.* 156], he should not long enioy his copper crowne, nor those robes he had sent him: yet those also swore hee might haue had corne for tooles but [he] would not. (The truth was, *Smith* had no such ingins as the King demanded, nor *Powhatan* any corne. Yet this argued he would starue them.)

Others complained hee would not let them rest in the fort (to starue), but forced them to the oyster banks, to liue or starue (as he liued himselfe). For though hee had of his owne private prouisions [**103**] sent from England, sufficient; yet hee gaue it all away to the weake and sicke: causing the most vntoward (by doing as he did) to gather their food from the vnknowne parts of the rivers and woods, that they lived (though hardly), that otherwaies would haue starved ere they would haue left their beds, or at most the sight of *Iames* Towne, to haue got their own victuall.

Some propheticall spirit calculated [that] hee had the Salvages in such subiection, hee would haue

made himselfe a king, by marrying *Pocahontas*, *Powhatans* daughter. (It is true she was the very Nomparell of his kingdome, and at most not past 13 or 14 yeares of age. Very oft shee came to our fort, with what shee could get for Captaine *Smith*; that ever loued and vsed all the Countrie well, but her especially he ever much respected: and she so well requited it, that when her father intended to haue surprized him, shee by stealth in the darke night came through the wild woods and told him of it [*p.* 455]. But her marriage could no way haue intitled him by any right to the kingdome, nor was it ever suspected hee had ever such a thought; or more regarded her, or any of them, than in honest reason and discreation he might. If he would, he might haue married her, or haue done what him listed; for there was none that could haue hindred his determination.) [1609] *Pocahontas Powhatans daughter* [*p.* cxv.]

Some that knewe not any thing to say, the Councel instructed and advised what to sweare. So diligent they were in this businesse, that what any could remember hee had ever done or said in mirth, or passion, by some circumstantiall oath it was applied to their fittest vse. Yet not past 8 or 9 could say much, and that nothing but circumstances which [**104**] all men did knowe was most false and vntrue.

Many got their passes by promising in England to say much against him.

I haue presumed to say this much in his behalfe, for that I never heard such foule slanders so certainely beleeued and vrged for truthes by many a hundred that doe still [1612] not spare to spread them, say them, and sweare them; that I thinke doe scarse know him though they meet him: nor haue they e[i]ther cause or reason but their wills, or zeale to rumor or opinion.

For the honorable and better sort of our Virginian adventurers, I think they vnderstand it as I haue writ it. For instead of accusing him, I haue never heard any giue him a better report, then many of those witnesses themselues that were sent home only to testifie against him.

Richard Pots, VV. P[*hettiplace*]

[1609-10] WHen the ships departed [*about* 4 *Oct.* 1609], C[aptain] *Davis* arived in a smal Pinnace with some 16 proper men more: to those were added a company from *Iames* Towne vnder the command of Captaine *Rat*[*c*]*liffe*, to inhabit Point comfort.

The planting at point Comfort.

[*p.* 497.]

Martin and *Master West* hauing lost their boates, and neere halfe their men amongst the Salvages, were returned to *Iames* Towne; for the Salvages no sooner vnderstood of Captaine *Smiths* losse, but they all revolted, and did murder and spoile all they could incounter.

Now were we all constrained to liue only of that which *Smith* had only for his owne company, for the rest had consumed their proportions. And now haue we 20 Presidents with all their appurtenances; for Master *Persie* was so sicke he could not goe nor stand.

[*p.* 498.

But ere all was consumed, *Master West* and *Rat*[*c*]*liffe*, each with a pinnace, and 30 or 40 men wel appointed, sought abroad to trade: how they carried the businesse I knowe not, but *Rat*[*c*]*liffe* and his men were most[ly] slaine by *Powhatan*; those that escaped returned neare starved in the Pinnace. And *Master West* finding little better successe, set saile for England.

Rat[*c*]*liffe slain by Powhatan.*

Now wee all found the want of Captaine *Smith*, yea his greatest maligners could then curse his losse. Now for corne, provision, and contribution from the Salvages; wee had nothing but mortal wounds with clubs and arrowes. As for our hogs, hens, goats, sheep, horse, or what lived; our commanders and officers did daily consume them: some small proportions (sometimes) we tasted, till all was devoured. Then swords, arrowes, peeces, or any thing we traded to the Salvages; whose bloody fingers were so imbrued in our bloods, that what by their crueltie, our Governours indiscreation, and the losse of our ships; of 500, within 6 months after [*Oct.* 1609—*May* 1610] there remained not many more then 60. most miserable and poore creatures. It were to[o] vild to say what we endured: but the occasion was only our owne, for want of providence, industrie, and governement; and not the barrennesse and defect of the countrie, as is generally sup-

posed. For till then, in 3 yeares (for the numbers were landed [to] vs) we had never landed sufficient provision for 6 months: such a glutton is the sea, and such good fellowes the marriners, wee as little tasted of those great proportions for their provisions, as they of our miseries; that notwithstanding euer swaid and overruled the businesse. Though we did liue as is said, 3 yeares chiefly of what this good countrie naturally affordeth: yet now had we beene in Paradice it selfe (with those governours) it would not haue beene much better with vs: yet was there some amongst vs, who had they had the governement, would surely haue kept vs from those extremities of miseries, that in 10 daies more would haue supplanted vs all by death. [1610]

The fruits of improvidence.

But God that would not it should bee vnplanted, sent Sir *Thomas Gates* and Sir *George Sommers*, with a 150 men, most happily perserved by the *Ber[m]ondoes* to preserue vs. Strange it is to say how miraculously they were preserved, in a leaking ship, in those extreme stormes and tempests in such overgrowne seas 3 daies and 3 nights by bayling out water. And having given themselu[e]s to death, how happily when least expected, that worthy Captaine Sir *George Somers* having l[a]ine all that time cuning [*steering*] the ship before those swa[l]lowing waues, discouered those broken Iles: where how plentifully they lived with fish and flesh, what a paradice this is to inhabit, what industrie they vsed to build their 2 ships, how happily they did transport them to Iames Towne in *Virginia* [*where they arrived on* 23 *May* 1610], I refer you to their owne printed relations.

The arivall of Sir *Thomas Gates with* 150.

[*pp.* 499, 635.]

But when those noble knights did see our miseries (being strangers to the country) and could vnderstand no more of the cause but by their coniecture of our clamors and complaints, of accusing or excusing one an other: they imbarked vs with themselues, with the best means they could, and abandoning *Iames* Towne, set saile for England.

Iames Towne abandoned.

But yet God would not so haue it, for ere wee left the river; we met the *Lord de-la-ware*, then governour for the countrie, with 3 ships exceeding well furnished with al necessaries fitting: who againe returned them to the abandoned *Iames* Towne, the 9 of *Iune*, 1610. accompanied with Sir *Ferdinando Wainman*, and divers other gentlemen of sort.

The arival of Lord La-ware.

[*p.* 500.]

Sir *George Somers* and Captaine *Argall* he presentlie

[1610–11] dispatcheth to require the *Bermondas* to furnish them with provision: Sir *Thomas Gates* for England to helpe forward their supplies; himselfe neglected not the best [that] was in his power for the furtherance of the busines and regaining what was lost. But even in the beginning of his proceedings, his Lordship had such an incounter with a scurvy sicknesse, that made him vnable to w[i]eld the state of his bodie, much lesse the affaires of the colonie [*p.* 505], so that after 8. monthes sicknesse, he was forced to saue his life by his returne for England.

[*p.* 639.]

2 Ships sent to the Bermudas.

In this time *Argall* not finding the *Bermondas*, having lost Sir *George Somers* at sea, fell on the coast of *Sagadahock*; where refreshing himselfe, [he] found a convenient fishing for Cod. With a tast[e] whereof, hee returned to *Iames* towne, from whence the Lord *De-la-ware* sent him to trade in the river of *Patawomecke*. Where finding an English boy [*Henry Spelman, see pp.* ci–cxiv, 498, 503, 528, 586, 606] those people had preserved from the furie of *Powhatan*, by his acquaintance, [he] had such good vsage of those kind Salvages, that they fraughted his ship with corne; wherewith he returned to *Iames* Towne: and so for England, with the Lord Governour.

[*p.* 503.]

The arival of Sir Thomas Dale.

Yet before his returne, the adventurers had sent Sir *Thomas Dale* with 3 ships, men and cattell, and all other provisions necessarie for a yeare: all which arived the 10 of May, 1611.

Againe, to second him with all possible expedition, there was prepared for Sir *Thomas Gates*, 6 tall ships with 300 men, and 100 kyne, with other cattell, with munition and all manner of provision [that] could bee thought needfull, and they arived about the 1 of August next after, safely at *Iames* towne.

Sir George Somers arivall at the Bermondas, and dieth.

Sir *George Somers* all this time was supposed [to be] lost: but thus it hapned. Missing the Bermondas, hee fell also, as did *Argall*, with *Sagadahock*: where being refreshed, [he] would not content himselfe with that repulse, but returned againe in the search; and there safely arived. But overtoiling himselfe, on a surfeit died [*on* 9 *Nov.* 1611].

And this Cedar ship built by his owne directions, and partly with his owne hands, that had not in her any iron but only one bolt in her keele, yet well endured thus tossed

San Jose, Calif.

to and againe in this mightie Ocean, til with his dead bo[die] she arived in England at line [*last*]: and at *Whitchurch* in Dorsetshire, his body by his friends was honourably buried, with many volies of shot, and the rights of a souldier. [1611-12]

And vpon his Tombe was bestowed this Epitaph [*p.* 640.]

his Epitaph.

Hei mihi Virginia, quod tam cito præterit æstas,
Autumnus sequitur, sæuiet inde et hyems.
At ver perpetuum nascetur, et Anglia læta,
Decerpit flores, Floryda terra tuos.

Alas *Virginia* Somer so soone past,
Autume succeeds and stormy winters blast,
Yet Englands joyfull spring with Aprill shewres,
O *Floryda*, shall bring thy sweetest flowers.

Since, there was a ship fraughted with provision and 40 men, and another since then, with the like number and provision, to stay in the Countrie 12 months with Captaine *Argall*.

The Lord governour himselfe doth confidently determine to goe with the next, or as presently as he may, in his owne person, with sundry other knights and gentlemen, with ships and men so farre as their meanes will extend to furnish.

As for all their particular actions since the returne of Captaine *Smith*; for that they haue beene printed from time to time, and published to the world, I cease farther to trouble you with any repetition of things so well knowne, more then are necessarie.

To conclude the historie, leauing this assurance to all posteritie, howe vnprosperously things may succeed, by what changes or chances soever; the action is honorable and worthie to bee approved, the defect whereof hath only beene in the managing the businesse: which I hope now experience hath taught them to amend, or those examples may make others to beware, for the land is as good as this booke doth report it.

FINIS.

CAptaine *Smith* I returne you the fruit of my labours, as *Master Croshaw* [*that is Rawlegh Crashaw, pp.* 129, 131, 139, 143, 145, 184, *&c.*] requested me, which I bestowed in reading the discourses, and hearing the relations of such which haue walked and observed the land of *Virginia* with you. The pains I took was great: yet did the nature of the argument, and hopes I conceaued of the expedition, giue me exceeding content. I cannot finde there is any thing, but what they all affirme, or cannot contradict: the land is good: as there is no citties, so no sonnes of *Anak:* al is open for labor of a good and wise inhabitant: and my prayer shall ever be, that so faire a land, may bee inhabited by those that professe and loue the Gospell.

Your friend

VV. S.

A

DESCRIPTION

of *New England:*

OR

THE OBSERVATIONS, AND discoueries, of Captain *Iohn Smith* (Admirall of that Country) in the North of *America*, in the year *of our Lord* 1614: *with the successe of sixe Ships, that went the next yeare* 1615; *and the* accidents befell him among the *French men of warre*:

With the proofe of the present benefit this Countrey affoords; whither this present yeare, 1616, *eight voluntary Ships are gone to make further tryall.*

At LONDON
Printed by *Humfrey Lownes*, for *Robert Clerke*; and are to be sould at his house called the Lodge, in Chancery lane, ouer against Lincolnes Inne. 1616.

[This Work was, in substance, first addressed to the Privy Council, by Captain SMITH, in August–October 1615, while a prisoner on board the French pirate ship, under the command of Monsieur POYRUNE, *p.* 739, off the Azores : " where to keepe my perplexed thoughts from too much meditation of my miserable estate, I writ this discourse ; thinking to haue sent it [to] you of his Maiesties Councell, by some ship or other," *pp.* 224, 736. He must therefore have carried the manuscript with him, in his escape in the November following, in the open boat at Ile de Ré, *pp.* 226, 738.

He completed it the next year, and it was thus entered for publication at Stationers' Hall, London :

3° Junij 1616.

Robert Clerke. Entred for his Copie vnder the handes of master SANFORD and Master **Lownes** Warden a booke called *A Description of New Englande*, by JOHN SMITHE. . . . . vjd.

A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554–1640 *A.D.*, Ed. by E. ARBER, iii. 588. London, 1876.

It is clear from the following passage at *p.* 937, that SMITH himself is the author of the name *New England.*

" In this voyage I tooke the description of the coast as well by map as writing, and called it *New-England :* but malicious mindes amongst Sailers and others, drowned that name with the eccho of *Nusconcus*, *Canaday*, and *Penaquid* ; till, at my humble su[i]te, our most gracious King *Charles*, then Prince of *Wales*, was pleased to confirme it by that title, and did change [*p.* 232] the barbarous names of their principal Harbours and habitations for such English, that posterity may say, King *Charles* was their Godfather."

The printing of the book was finished on the following 18 June 1616, *p.* 229.

The book and Map must then have been presented to Prince CHARLES, and his new names of places struck off on the now exceedingly rare leaf ; which through the kindness of CHARLES DEANE, Esq., of Cambridge, Massa., U.S.A., we have been enabled to reprint from a photographed copy, at *p.* 232. See also *p.* cxxxiv.

For the bibliography of this Work, see *p.* cxxx.]

TO THE HIGH HOPEFVL CHARLES, *Prince of Great Britaine.*

SIR:

SO fauorable was your most renowned and memorable Brother, Prince *Henry*, to all generous designes; that in my discouery of *Virginia*, I presumed to call two namelesse Headlands after my Soueraignes heires, *Cape Henry*, and *Cape Charles*. [1616]

Since then, it beeing my chance to range some other parts of *America*, whereof I heere present your Highness the description in a Map; my humble su[i]te is, you would please to change their Barbarous names, for such English, as Posterity may say, Prince *Charles* was their Godfather.

What here in this relation I promise my Countrey, let mee liue or die the slaue of scorne and infamy, if (hauing meanes) I make it not apparent; please God to blesse me but from such accidents as are beyond my power and reason to preuent. For my labours, I desire but such conditions as were promised me out of the gaines; and that your Highnesse would daigne to grace this Work, by your Princely and fauorable respect vnto it, and know mee to be

Your Highnesse true
and faithfull servant,
Iohn Smith.

To the Right Honourable and *worthy Lords, Knights, and Gentl:-* men, of his Maiesties Councell, for all Plantations and discoueries; especially, of *New England.*

[1616] *SEeing the deedes of the most iust, and the writings of the most wise, not onely of men, but of God himselfe, haue beene diuersly traduced by variable iudgements of the Times opinionists; what shall such an ignorant as I expect? Yet reposing my selfe on your fauours, I present this rude discourse to the worldes construction; though I am perswaded, that few do think there may be had from* New England, *Staple commodities well worth* 3 *or* 40000 *pound a yeare, with so small charge, and such facilitie, as this discourse will acquaint you.*

But, lest your Honours, that know mee not, should thinke I goe by hearesay or affection; I intreat your pardons to say thus much of my selfe: Neere twice nine yeares [i.e., 1599–1616], *I haue beene taught by lamentable experience, aswell in* Europe *and* Asia, *as* Affrick *and* America, *such honest aduentures as the chance of warre doth cast vpon poore Souldiers. So that, if I bee not able to iudge of what I haue seene, contriued, and done; it is not the fault either of my eyes, or foure quarters. And these nine yeares* [1607–1616], *I haue bent my endeauours to finde a sure foundation to begin these ensuing proiects: which though I neuer so plainely and seriously propound; yet it resteth in God, and you, still to dispose of. Not doubting but your goodnesse will pardon my rudenesse, and ponder errours in the balance of good will.*

No more; but sacring all my best abilities to the good of my Prince and Countrey, and submitting my selfe to the exquisit[*e*] *iudgements of your renowned vertue,*

I euer rest

Your Honours, in
all honest service

I. S.

To the right Worshipfull Aduenturers for the Countrey of *New England*, in the Cities of *London*, *Bristow*, *Exceter*, *Plimouth*, *Dartmouth*, *Bastaple*, *Totneys*, &c. and in all other Cities and Ports, in the Kingdome *of England*

IF the little Ant, and the sillie Bee seek by their diligence the good of their Common wealth; much more ought Man. If they punish the drones and sting them [that] steales their labour; then blame not Man. Little hony hath that hiue, where there are more Drones then Bees: and miserable is that Land, where more are idle then well imployed. If the indeauours of those vermin be acceptable, I hope mine may be excuseable; Though I confesse it were more proper for mee, To be doing what I say, then writing what I knowe. Had I returned rich, I could not haue erred: Now hauing onely such fish as came to my net, I must be taxed. But, I would my taxers were as ready to aduenture their purses, as I, purse, life, and all I haue: or as diligent to furnish the charge, as I know they are vigilant to crop the fruits of my labours. Then would I not doubt (did God please I might safely arriue in *New England*, and safely returne) but to performe somewhat more then I haue promised, and approue my words by deeds, according to proportion. [1616]

I am not the first [that] hath beene betrayed by Pirat[e]s: And foure men of warre, prouided as they were, had beene sufficient to haue taken *Sampson*,

[1616] *Hercules*, and *Alexander* the great, no other way furnisht then I was. I knowe not what assurance any haue [who] do passe the Seas, Not to bee subiect to casualty as well as my selfe: but least this disaster may hinder my proceedings, or ill will (by rumour) the behoofefull work I pretend; I haue writ this little: which I did thinke to haue concealed from any publike vse, till I had made my returnes speake as much, as my pen now doth.

But because I speake so much of fishing, if any take mee for such a deuote [*devoted*] fisher, as I dreame of nought else, they mistake mee. I know a ring of golde from a graine of barley, aswell as a goldesmith: and nothing is there to bee had which fishing doth hinder, but furder vs to obtaine. Now for that I haue made knowne vnto you a fit place for plantation, limited within the bounds of your Patent and Commission; hauing also receiued meanes, power, and authority by your directions, to plant there a Colony, and make further search, and discouery in those parts there yet vnknowne: Considering, withall, first those of his Maiesties Councell, then those Cities aboue named, and diuerse others that haue beene moued to lend their assistance to so great a worke, doe expect (especially the aduenturers) the true relation or euent of my proceedings which I heare are so abused; I am inforced for all these respects, rather to expose my imbecillitie to contempt, by the testimonie of these rude lines, then all should condemne me for so bad a Factor, as could neither give reason nor account of my actions and designes.

Yours to command

Iohn Smith.

In the deserued Honour of the Au- [*p.* 491.]

thor, Capaine Iohn Smith, and his Worke.

Amn'd Enuie is a sp'rite, that euer haunts [1616]
Beasts, mis-nam'd Men; Cowards, or Ingnorants.
But, onely such shee followes, whose deere WORTH
(Maugre her malice) sets their glorie forth.
If this faire Ouerture, then, take not; It
Is Enuie's *spight (dear friend) in men-of-wit;*
Or Feare, *lest morsels, which our mouthes possesse,*
Might fall from thence; or else, tis Sottishnesse.
If either; (I hope neither) thee they raise;
*Thy *Letters are as Letters in thy praise;* * Hinderers.
Who, by their vice, improue *(when they* reprooue*)*
Thy vertue; so, in hate, procure thee Loue.
Then, On firme Worth: this Monument I frame;
Scorning for any Smith to forge *such* fame.

Io: Dauies, *Heref*:

To his worthy Captaine the Author. [*p.* 492.]

Hat which wee call the subiect of all Storie,
Is Truth: which in this Worke of thine giues glorie
To all that thou hast done. Then, scorne the spight
Of Enuie; which doth no mans merits right.
My sword may helpe the rest: my Pen no more
Can doe, but this; I 'aue said enough before.

Your sometime souldier,

I. Codrinton, now Templer.

[*f.* 492.]

To my Worthy friend and Cosen, Captaine Iohn Smith.

[1616]

I*t ouer-ioyes my heart, when as thy Words*
O*f these designes, with deeds I doe compare.*
H*eere is a Booke, such worth truth affords,*
N*one should the due desert thereof impare;*
S*ith thou, the man, deseruing of these Ages,*
M*uch paine hast ta'en for this our Kingdoms good,*
I*n Climes vnknowne, Mongst* Turks *and Saluages,*
T*'inlarge our bounds; though with thy losse of blood.*
H*ence damn'd Detraction: stand not in our way.*
E*nuie, it selfe, will not the Truth gainesay.*

N. Smith.

[*f.* 690.]

To that worthy and generous Gentleman, *my verie good friend*, Captaine Smith.

M*Ay Fate thy Proiect prosper, that thy name*
May be eternised with liuing fame:
Though foule Detraction Honour would peruert,
And Enuie euer waits vpon desert:
In spight of Pelias, *when his hate lies colde,*
Returne as Iason *with a fleece of Golde.*
Then after-ages shall record thy praise,
That a New England *to this Ile didst raise:*
And when thou dy'st (as all that liue must die)
Thy fame liue heere; thou, with Eternitie.

R: Gunnell.

To his friend Cap: Smith, vpon his description of New England.

[p. 689.]

[1616]

Sir; your Relations I haue read: which shewe,
Ther's reason I should honour them *and* you:
And if their meaning I haue vnderstood,
I dare to censure, thus: Your Proiect's *good;*
And may (if follow'd) doubtlesse quit the paine,
With honour, pleasure and a trebble gaine;
Beside the benefit that shall arise
To make more happie our Posterities.
For would we daigne to spare, though 'twere no more
Then what o're-filles, and surfets vs in store,
To order Nature's *fruitfulnesse a while*
In that rude Garden, *you* New England *stile;*
With present good, ther's hope in after-daies
Thence to repaire what Time *and Pride decaies*
In this rich kingdome. And the spatious West
Beeing still more with English *blood possest,*
The Proud Iberians *shall not rule those Seas,*
To checke our ships from sayling where they please;
Nor future times make any forraine power
Become so great to force a bound to Our.
Much good my minde fore-tels would follow hence
With little labour, and with lesse expence.
Thriue therefore thy Designe, *who ere enuie:*
England *may ioy in* England's *Colony,*
Virginia seeke *her Virgine sisters good,*
Be blessed in such happie neighbourhood:
Or, what-soere Fate pleaseth to permit,
Be thou still honor'd for first moouing it.

George Wither,
è societate Lincol.

[*p.* 493.]

In the deserued honour of my honest *and worthie Captaine, Iohn Smith,* and his Worke.

[1616]

Aptaine and friend; when I peruse thy booke
(*With* Iudgements *eyes*) *into thy* heart *I looke*:
And there I finde (*what sometimes* Albyon *knew*)
A Souldier, to his Countries-honour, *true.*
Some fight for wealth; *and some for* emptie praise;
But thou alone thy Countries Fame *to raise.*
With due discretion, *and* vnda[u]nted heart,
I (*oft*) *so well haue seene thee act thy Part*
In deepest plunge of hard extreamitie,
As forc't the troups of proudest foes to flie.
Though men of greater Ranke *and lesse* desert
Would Pish-*away thy* Praise, *it can not start*
From the true Owner: *for, all good-mens tongues*
Shall keepe the same. To them that Part belongs.
If, then, Wit, Courage, *and* Successe *should get*
Thee Fame; *the Muse for* that *is in thy* debt:
A part whereof (*least able though I bee*)
Thus heere I doe disburse, to honor Thee.

Rawly Croshaw

Michael Phettiplace, William Phettiplace, and *Richard Wiffing,* Gentlemen, and Souldiers under Captaine *Smiths* Command: In his deserued honor for his Worke, and worth.

[p. 493.]

[1616]

WHy may not we in this Worke haue our Mite,
That had our share in each black day and night,
When thou Virginia *foild'st, yet kept'st vnstaind;*
And held'st the King of Paspeheh *enchaind.*
Thou all alone this Saluage *sterne didst take.*
Pamunkes *king wee saw thee captiue make*
Among seauen hundred of his stoutest men,
To murther thee and vs resolued; when
Fast by the hand thou ledst this Saluage grim,
Thy Pistoll at his breast to gouerne him:
Which did infuse such awe in all the rest
(Sith their drad Soueraigne thou had'st so distrest)
That thou and wee (poore sixteene) safe retir'd
Vnto our helplesse ships. *Thou (thus admir'd)*
Didst make proud Powhatan, *his subiects send*
To Iames *his Towne, thy censure to attend:*
And all Virginia's *Lords, and pettie Kings,*
Aw'd by thy vertue, crouch, and Presents brings
To gaine thy grace; so dreaded thou hast beene:
And yet a heart more milde is seldome seene;
So, making Valour Vertue, really;
Who hast nought in thee counterfet, or slie;
If in the sleight bee not the truest art,
That makes men famoused for faire desert.

M. Phettiplace.
W Phettiplace.
R. Wiffin.
1616.

[1616] *Who saith of thee, this sauors of vaine-glorie,*
Mistakes both thee and vs, and this true storie.
If it bee ill in Thee, so well to doe;
Then, is it ill in Vs, to praise thee too.
But, if the first bee well don; it is well,
To say it doth (if so it doth) excell!
Praise is the guerdon of each deere desert,
Making the praised act the praised part
With more alacritie: Honours *Spurre is* Praise;
Without which, it (regardlesse) soone decaies.
And for this paines of thine wee praise thee rather,
That future Times may know who was the father
Of this rare Worke (New England) *which may bring*
Praise to thy God, and profit to thy King.

A DESCRIPTION OF

New-England, by Captaine

Iohn Smith.

IN the moneth of Aprill, 1614. with two Ships from *London*, of a few Marchants, I chanced to arriue in *New-England*, a parte of *Ameryca*; at the Ile of *Monahigan*, in 43½ of Northerly latitude: our plot was there to take Whales and make tryalls of a Myne of Gold and Copper. If those failed, Fish and Furres was then our refuge, to make our selues sauers howsoeuer. We found this Whale-fishing a costly conclusion: we saw many, and spent much time in chasing them; but could not kill any: they beeing a kinde of Iubartes, and not the Whale that yeeldes Finnes and Oyle as wee expected. For our Golde, it was rather the Masters deuice to get a voyage that proiected it, then any knowledge hee had at all of any such matter. Fish and Furres was now our guard: and by our late arriual, and long lingring about the Whale[s], the prime of both those seasons were past ere wee perceiued it; we thinking that their seasons, serued at all times: [2] but wee found it otherwise; for, by the midst of Iune, the fishing failed. Yet in Iuly and August some was taken, but not sufficient to defray so great a charge as our stay required. Of dry fish we made about 40000., of Cor fish about 7000.

[1614]

[*f.* 697.] My first voyage to New England.

[*f.* 698.]

[*f.* 936.]

[1614] Whilest the sailers fished, my selfe with eight or nine others of them [that] might best bee spared; Ranging the coast in a small boat, wee got for trifles neer 1100 Beuer skinnes, 100 Martins [skins], and neer as many Otters; and the most of them within the distance of twenty leagues.

We ranged the Coast both East and West much furder; but Eastwards our commodities were not esteemed, they were so neare the French who affords them better: and right against vs in the Main [*the mainland*] was a Ship of Sir *Frances Popphames*, that had there such acquaintance, hauing many yeares vsed onely that porte, that the most parte there, was had by him. And 40 leagues westwards were two French Ships, that had made there a great voyage by trade; during the time we tryed those conclusions, not knowing the Coast, nor Saluages habitation.

With these Furres, the Traine [*train oil*], and Cor-fish, I returned for *England* in the Bark: where within six monthes after our departure from the *Downes*, we safe arriued back. The best of this fish was solde for fiue pound the hundreth, the rest by ill vsage betwixt three pound and fifty shillings.

The other Ship staied to fit herselfe for *Spaine* with the dry fish; which was sould, by the Sailers reporte that returned, at forty ryalls [20*s*.] the quintall, each hundred [weight] weighing two quintalls and a halfe. [**3**]

[*p.* 702.] The situation of New England.

New England is that part of *America* in the Ocean Sea opposite to *Noua Albyon* [*California*] in the South Sea, discouered by the most memorable Sir *Francis Drake* in his voyage about the worlde. In regarde whereto this is stiled *New England*, beeing in the same latitude. *New France*, off it, is Northward: Southwardes is *Virginia*, and all the adioyning Continent, with *New Granado*, *New Spain*, *New Andolosia*, and the *West Indies*.

Now because I haue beene so oft asked such strange questions, of the goodnesse and greatnesse of those spatious Tracts of land, how they can bee thus long vnknown, or not possessed by the *Spaniard*, and many such like demands; I intreat

your pardons, if I chance to bee too plaine, or tedious in relating my knowledge for plaine mens satisfaction. [1614]

Florida is the next adioyning to the *Ind[i]es*, which vnprosperously was attempted to bee planted by the *French*. A Country farre bigger then *England*, *Scotland*, *France*, and *Ireland*, yet little knowne to any Christian but by the wonderful ende[a]uours of *Ferdinando de Soto*, a valiant *Spaniard*: whose writings in this age is the best guide knowne to search those parts. Notes of Florida.

Virginia is no Ile (as many doe imagine) but part of the Continent adioyning to *Florida*; whose bounds may be stretched to the magnitude thereof without offence to any Christian inhabitant. For from the degrees of 30. to 45. his Maiestie hath granted his Letters patents, the Coast extending South-west and North-east aboute 1500 [4] miles; but to follow it aboard, the shore may well be 2000. at the least: of which, 20 miles is the most [that] giues entrance into the Bay of *Chisapeak*, where is the *London* plantation: within which [entrance] is a Country (as you may perceiue by the description in a Booke and Map printed in my name of that little I there discouered) [that] may well suffice 300000 people to inhabit. [*p.* 703.] Notes of Virginia.

And Southward adioyneth that part discouered at the charge of Sir *Walter Rawley*, by Sir *Ralph Lane*, and that learned Mathematician Master *Thomas Heryot*.

Northward six or seauen degrees is the Riuer *Sadagahock*, where was planted the Westerne Colony, by that Honourable Patrone of vertue, Sir *Iohn Poppham*, Lord chief Iustice of *England*.

Ther[e] is also a relation printed by Captaine *Bartholomew Gosnould*, of *Elizabeths Isles*: and an other by Captaine *Waymouth*, of *Pemmaquid*.

From all these diligent obseruers, posterity may be bettered by the fruits of their labours. But for diuers others that, long before and since, haue ranged those parts, within a kenning sometimes of the shore, some touching in one place, some in another, I must entreat them [to] pardon me for omitting them; or if I offend in saying that their true descriptions are concealed, or [were] neuer well obserued, or died with the Authors: so that the Coast is yet [1616] still but euen as a Coast vnknowne and vndiscouered.

[1614] I haue had six or seauen seuerall plots of those Northern parts, so vnlike each to other, and most so differing from any true proportion or resemblance of the Countrey, as they did [**5**] mee no more good then so much waste paper, though they cost me more. It may be it was not my chance to see the best; but least others may be deceiued as I was, or thro[u]gh dangerous ignorance hazard themselues as I did, I haue drawen a Map from Point to Point, Ile to Ile, and Harbour to Harbour, with the Soundings, Sands, Rocks, and Land-marks as I passed close aboard the Shore in a little Boat; although there be many things to be obserued which the haste of other affaires did cause me [to] omit. For being sent more to get present commodities then knowledge by discoueries for any future good, I had not power to search as I would: yet it will serue to direct any [that] should goe that waies, to safe Harbours and the Saluages habitations. What [*p.* 704.] marchandize and commodities for their labour they may finde, this following discourse shall plainely demonstrate.

Thus you may see, of this 2000. miles more then halfe is yet vnknowne to any purpose: no, not so much as the borders of the Sea are yet certainly discouered. As for the goodness and true substances of the Land, wee are for [the] most part yet altogether ignorant of them, vnlesse it bee those parts about the Bay of *Chisapeack*, and *Sagadahock*: but onely here and there wee touched or haue seene a little the edges of those large dominions, which doe stretch themselues into the Maine, God doth know how many thousand miles; whereof we can yet no more iudge, then a stranger that saileth betwixt *England* and *France* can describe the Harbors [**6**] and dangers, by landing here or there in some Riuer or Bay, tell thereby the goodnesse and substances of *Spaine*, *Italy*, *Germany*, *Bohemia*, *Hungaria* and the rest. By this you may perceiue how much they erre, that think euery one which hath bin at *Virginia*, vnderstandeth or knowes what *Virginia* is: Or that the *Spaniards* know one halfe quarter of those Territories they possesse; no, not so much as the true circumference of *Terra Incognita*, whose large dominions may equalize the greatnesse and goodnes of *America*, for any thing yet known. It is strange with what small

power hee hath raigned in the *East Ind*[*i*]*es*; and few will vnderstand the truth of his strength in *America*: where he hauing so much to keepe with such a pampered force, they neede not greatly feare his furie in the *Bermudas*, *Virginia*, *New France*, or *New England*. Beyond whose bounds, *America* doth stretch many thousand miles: into the frozen partes whereof, one Master *Hutson* [*Hudson*], an English Mariner, did make the greatest discouerie of any Christian I know of, where he vnfortunately died. For *Affrica*, had not the industrious Portugales ranged her vnknowne parts, who would haue sought for wealth among those fryed Regions of blacke brutish Negers; where notwithstanding all the wealth and admirable aduentures and endeauours more then 140 years [1476–1616], they knowe not one third of those blacke habitations. [1614] [p. 705.]

But it is not a worke for euery one, to manage such an affaire as makes a discouerie, and plants a Colony. It requires all the best parts of [7] Art, Iudgement, Courage, Honesty, Constancy, Diligence, and Industrie, to doe but neere well. Some are more proper for one thing then another; and therein are to be imployed: and nothing breedes more confusion then misplacing and misimploying men in their vndertakings. *Columbus*, *Cortez*, *Pitzara*, *Soto*, *Magellanes*, and the rest serued more than a prentiship to learne how to begin their most memorable attempts in the *West Ind*[*i*]*es*: which to the wonder of all ages succesfully they effected, when many hundreds of others, farre aboue them in the worlds opinion, beeing instructed but by relation, came to shame and confusion in actions of small moment, who doubtlesse in other matters, were both wise, discreet, generous, and couragious. I say not this to detract any thing from their incomparable merits, but to answer those questionlesse questions that keep vs back from imitating the worthinesse of their braue spirits that aduanced themselues from poore Souldiers to great Captaines, their posterity to great Lords, their King to be one of the greatest Potentates on earth, and the fruites of their labours, his greatest glory, power, and renowne. [p. 964–5.]

[1614] [*p.* 706.] The description of New England.

That part wee call *New England* is betwixt the degrees of 41. and 45; but that parte this discourse speaketh of, stretcheth but from *Pennobscot* to *Cape Cod*, some 75 leagues by a right line distant each from other: within which bounds I haue seene at least 40. seuerall habitations vpon the Sea Coast, and sounded about 25 excellent good Harbours; [**8**] in many whereof there is anc[h]orage for 500. sayle of ships of any burden; in some of them for 5000. And more than 200 Iles ouergrowne with good timber, of diuers sorts of wood, which doe make so many harbours as requireth a longer time then I had, to be well discouered.

The particular Countries or Gouernements.

The principall habitation Northward we were at, was *Pennobscot*. Southward along the Coast and vp the Riuers we found *Mecadacut*, *Segocket*, *Pemmaquid*, *Nusconcus*, *Kenebeck*, *Sagadahock*, and *Aumoughcawgen*; And to those Countries belong the people of *Segotago*, *Paghhuntanuck*, *Pocopassum*, *Taughtanakagnet*, *Warbigganus*, *Nassaque*, *Masherosqueck*, *Wawrigweck*, *Moshoquen*, *Wakcogo*, *Passharanack*, *&c.* To these are allied the Countries of *Aucocisco*, *Accominticus*, *Passataquack*, *Aggawom*, and *Naemkeck*: All these, I could perceiue, differ little in language, fashion, or gouernment: though most be Lords of themselues, yet they hold the *Bashabes* of *Pennobscot*, the chiefe and greatest amongst them.

[*p.*707.] The next I can remember by name are *Mattahunts*; two pleasant Iles of groues, gardens, and corne fields, a league in the Sea from the Mayne. Then *Totant*, *Massachuset*, *Pocapawmet*, *Quonahassit*, *Sagoquas*, *Nahapassumkeck*, *Topeent*, *Seccasaw*, *Totheet*, *Nasnocomacack*, *Accomack*, *Chawum*; Then *Cape Cod* by which is *Pawmet* and the Isle *Nawset*, of the language and alliance of them of *Chawum*: The others are called *Massachusets*; of another language, humor, and condition.

For their trade and marchandize; to each of their habitations they haue [**9**] diuerse Townes and people belonging; and by their relations and descriptions, more then 20 seuerall Habitations and Riuers that stretch themselues farre vp into the Countrey, euen to the borders of diuerse great Lakes, where they kill and take most of their Beuers and Otters.

From *Pennobscot* to *Sagadahock* this Coast is all Mountainous and Iles of huge Rocks, but ouergrowen with all sorts of excellent good woodes for building houses, boats, barks, or shippes; with an incredible abundance of most sorts of fish, much fowle, and sundry sorts of good fruites for mans vse. [1614]

Betwixt *Sagadahock* and *Sawocatuck* there is but two or three sandy Bayes, but betwixt that and *Cape Cod* very many: especial[l]y the Coast of the *Massachusets* is so indifferently mixed with high clayie or sandy cliffes in one place, and then tracts of large long ledges of diuers sorts, and quarries of stones in other places so strangely diuided with tinctured veines of diuers colours: as, Free stone for building, Slate for tiling, smooth stone to make Fornaces and Forges for glasse or iron, and iron ore sufficient, conueniently to melt in them. But the most part so resembleth the Coast of *Deuonshire*, I think most of the cliffes would make such lime stone. If they be not of these qualities, they are so like, they may deceiue a better iudgement then mine. All which are so neere adioyning to those other aduantages I obserued in these parts, that if the Ore proue as good iron and steele in those parts, as I know it is within the bounds of [**10**] the Countrey, I dare engage my head (hauing but men skilfull to worke the simples there growing) to haue all things belonging to the building [and] the rigging of shippes of any proportion, and good marchandize for the fraught, within a square of 10 or 14 leagues: and were it for a good rewarde, I would not feare to prooue it in a lesse limitation.

The mixture of an excellent soyle.

[*p.* 951.]

[*pp.*708,950.]

And surely by reason of those sandy cliffes and cliffes of rocks, both which we saw so planted with Gardens and Corne fields, and so well inhabited with a goodly, strong and well proportioned people, besides the greatnesse of the Timber growing on them, the greatnesse of the fish, and the moderate temper of the ayre (for of twentie fiue, not any was sicke but two that were many yeares diseased before they went, notwithstanding our bad lodging and accidentall [*chance*] diet): who can but approoue this a most excellent place, both for health and fertility? And of all the foure parts of the world that I haue yet seene not inhabited, could I haue but meanes to transport a Colonie, I would rather liue here then any

A proofe of an excellent temper.

A proofe of health.

[1614] where: and if it did not maintaine it selfe, were wee but once indifferently well fitted, let vs starue.

Staple commodities present.

The maine Staple, from hence to bee extracted for the present to produce the rest, is fish; which howeuer it may seeme a mean and a base commoditie: yet who will but truely take the pains and consider the sequell, I thinke will allow it well worth the labour. It is strange to see what great [11] aduentures the hopes of setting forth [*pp.*893,945.] men of war [*privateers*] to rob the industrious innocent, would procure; or such massie promises in grosse: though more are choked then well fedde with such hastie hopes.

The Hollanders fishing.

But who doth not know that the poore Hollanders, chiefly by fishing, at a great charge and labour in all weathers in the open Sea, are made a people so hardy and industrious? and by the venting this poore commodity to the Easterlings for as meane, which is Wood, Flax, Pitch, Tarre, Rosin, Cordage, and such like (which they exchange againe, to the French, Spaniards, Portugales, and English, &c., for what they want) are made so mighty, strong and rich, as no State but *Venice*, of twice their magnitude, is so well furnished with so many faire Cities, goodly Townes, strong Fortresses, and that aboundance of shipping and all sorts of marchandize, as well of Golde, Siluer, Pearles, Diamonds, Pretious stones, Silkes, Veluets, [*p.* 709.] and Cloth of golde; as Fish, Pitch, Wood, or such grosse commodities? What Voyages and Discoueries, East and West, North and South, yea about the world, make they? What an Army by Sea and Land, haue they long maintained in despite of one of the greatest Princes of the world? And neuer could the Spaniard will all his Mynes of golde and Siluer pay his debts, his friends, and army, halfe so truly, as the Hollanders stil haue done by this contemptible trade of fish. Diuers (I know) may alledge, many other assistances. But this is their Myne; and the Sea the [12] source of those siluered streames of all their vertue; which hath made them now the very miracle of industrie, the pattern of perfection for these affaires: and the benefit of fishing is that *Primum mobile* that turnes all their *Spheres* to this height of plentie, strength, honour and admiration.

Herring, Cod, and Ling, is that triplicitie that makes their wealth and shippings multiplicities, such as it is, and from which (few would thinke it) they yearly draw at least one million and a halfe of pounds starling; yet it is most certaine (if records be true): and in this faculty they are so naturalized, and of their vents [*sales*] so certainely acquainted, as there is no likelihood they will euer be paralleld, hauing 2 or 3000 Busses, Flat bottomes, Sword pinks, To[a]des, and such like, that breedes them Saylers, Mariners, Souldiers and Marchants, neuer to be wrought out of that trade, and fit for any other. I will not deny but others may gaine as well as they, that will vse it: though not so certainely, nor so much in quantity; for want of experience. And this Herring they take vpon the Coast of *Scotland* and *England*; their Cod and Ling, vpon the Coast of *Izeland* and in the North Seas. [1614]

Which is fifteen hundred thousand pound.

Hamborough and the *East Countries*, for Sturgion and Cauiare, gets many thousands of pounds from *England*, and the *Straites*: *Portugale*, the *Biskaines*, and the *Spaniards*, make 40 or 50 Saile yearely to *Cape-blank*, to hooke for Porgos, Mullet, and [to] make *Puttardo*: and *New found Land*, doth yearely fraught neere 800 sayle of Ships with a sillie leane [**13**] skinny Poore-Iohn, and Corfish; which at least yearely amounts to 3 or 400000 pound.

If from all those parts such paines is taken for this poore gaines of fish, and by them [that] hath neither meate, drinke, nor clothes; wood, iron nor steele; pitch, tarre, nets, leades, salt, hookes, nor lines; for shipping, fishing, nor prouision, but at the second, third, fourth, or fift hand, drawne from so many seuerall parts of the world ere they come together to be vsed in this voyage. If these I say can gaine, and the Saylers liue going for shares, [on] lesse then the third part of their labours, and yet spend as much time in going and comming as in staying there, so short is the season of fishing: why should wee more doubt then *Holland*, *Portugale*, *Spaniard*, *French*, or other, but to doe much better then they, where there is victuall to feede vs, wood of all sorts to build Boats, Ships, or Barks; the fish at our doores; pitch, tarre, masts, yards, and most of other necessaries onely for making? And here are no hard Landlords to racke vs [*p.* 710.]

[1614] with high rents, or extorted fines to consume vs; no tedious pleas in law to consume vs with their many years disputations for Iustice; no multitudes to occasion such impediments to good orders, as in popular States. So freely hath God and his Maiesty bestowed those blessings on them that will attempt to obtaine them, as here euery man may be master and owner of his owne labour and land; or the greatest part in a small time. If hee haue nothing but his hands, he may set vp this trade; and by industrie [**14**] quickly grow rich; spending but halfe that time wel, which in *England* we abuse in idlenes, worse or as ill.

Examples of altitude com paratiuely.

Here is ground also as good as any lyeth in the height of forty one, forty two, forty three, &c., which is as temperate and as fruitfull as any other paralell in the world.

As for example, on this side the line West of it in the South Sea, is *Noua Albion*, discouered as is said [*p.* 188] by Sir *Francis Drake*. East from it, is the most temperate part of *Portugale*, the ancient kingdomes of *Galazia* [*Galicia*], *Biskey*, *Nauarre*, *Arragon*, *Catalonia*, *Castilia* the olde, and the most moderatest of *Castilia* the new, and *Valentia*, which is the greatest part of *Spain*: which if the *Spanish* Histories bee true, in the *Romanes* time abounded no lesse with gold and siluer Mines, then now the *West Indies*; the *Romanes* then vsing the *Spaniards* to work in those Mines, as now the *Spaniard* doth the *Indians*.

In *France*, the Prouinces of *Gasconie*, *Langadock*, *Auignon*, *Prouince*, *Dolphine* [*Dauphigny*], *Pyamont* [*Piedmont*], and *Turyne*, are in the same paralel: which are the best and richest parts of *France*.

In *Italy*, the prouinces of *Genua*, *Lumbardy*, and *Verona*, with a great part of the most famous State of *Venice*, the Dukedoms of *Bononia*, *Mantua*, *Ferrara*, *Rauenna*, *Bolognia*, *Florence*, *Pisa*, *Sienna*, *Vrbine*, *Ancona*, and the ancient Citie and Countrey of *Rome*, with a great part of the great Kingdome of *Naples*. In *Slauonia*, *Istrya*, and [*p.* 721.] *Dalmatia*, with the Kingdomes of *Albania*. In *Grecia*, that famous Kingdome of *Macedonia*, *Bulgaria*, *Thessalia*, *Thracia*, or *Romania*, where is seated [**15**] the most pleasant and plentifull citie in *Europe*, *Constantinople*.

In *Asia* also, in the same latitude, are the temperatest

parts of *Natolia*, *Armenia*, *Persia*, and *China*; besides diuers other large Countries and Kingdomes in these most milde and temperate Regions of *Asia*. [1614]

Southward, in the same height, is the richest of gold Mynes, *Chily* and *Baldiuia*, and the mouth of the great Riuer of *Plate*, &c: for all the rest of the world in that height is yet vnknown.

Besides these reasons, mine owne eyes that haue seene a great part of those Cities and their Kingdomes, as well as it [*New England*] can finde no aduantage they haue in nature, but this, They are beautified by the long labour and diligence of industrious people and Art. This is onely as God made it, when he created the worlde.

Therefore I conclude, if the heart and intralls of those Regions were sought: if their Land were cultured, planted and manured by men of industrie, iudgement, and experience; what hope is there, or what neede they doubt, hauing those aduantages of the Sea, but it might equalize any of those famous Kingdomes, in all commodities, pleasures, and conditions? seeing euen the very edges doe naturally afford vs such plenty, as no ship need returne away empty: and onely vse but the season of the Sea, fish will returne an honest gaine, besides all other aduantages; her treasures hauing yet neuer beene opened, nor her originalls wasted, consumed, nor abused.

And whereas it is said, the *Hollanders* serue the *Easterlings* themselues, and other parts that want, [16] with Herring, Ling, and wet Cod; The *Easterlings* [serve] a great part of *Europe*, with Sturgion and Cauiare; *Capeblanke*, *Spaine*, *Portugale*, and the *Leuant*, [serve] with Mullet and Puttargo; *New found Land*, [serve] all *Europe* with a thin Poore Iohn: yet all is so ouerlaide with fishers as the fishing decayeth, and many are constrained to returne with a small fraught. *Norway* and *Polonia*, [producing] Pitch, Tar, Masts, and Yardes; *Sweathland* and *Russia*, Iron and Ropes; *France* and *Spaine*, Canuas, Wine, Steele, Iron, and Oyle; *Italy* and *Greece*, Silks and Fruites: I dare boldly say (because I haue seen naturally growing, or breeding in those parts, the same materialls that all those are made of), they may as well be had there, or the most [*pp.* 238, 254.] The particular staple commodities that may be had. [*pp.* 240, 255] [*p.* 712.]

[1614] part of them, within the distance of 70 leagues, for some few ages, as from all those parts; vsing but the same meanes to haue them that they doe, and with all those aduantages.

The nature of ground approoued.

First, the ground is so fertill, that questionless it is capable of producing any Grain, Fruits, or Seeds you will sow or plant, growing in the Regions afore named: but it may be, not euery kinde to that perfection of delicacy; or some tender plants may miscarie, because the Summer is not so hot, and the winter is more colde in those parts wee haue yet tryed neere the Sea side, then we finde in the same height, in *Europe* or *Asia*. Yet I made a Garden vpon the top of a Rockie Ile in 43½, 4 leagues from the Main, in May, that grew so well, as it serued vs for sallets in Iune and Iuly.

All sorts [**17**] of cattell may here be bred and fed in the Iles, or *Peninsulaes*, securely for nothing. In the *Interim*, till they encrease, if need be (obseruing the seasons) I durst vndertake to haue corne enough from the Saluages for 300 men, for a few trifles. And if they [*the Savages*] should bee vntoward (as it is most certaine they are) thirty or forty good men will be sufficient to bring them all in subiection, and make this prouision; if they vnderstand what they doe: 200 whereof may, nine monethes in the yeare, be imployed in making marchandable fish, till the rest prouide other necessaries fit to furnish vs with other commodities.

The seasons for fishing approoued.

In March, Aprill, May, and halfe Iune, here is Cod in abundance; in May, Iune, Iuly, and August, Mullet and Sturgion, whose roes doe make Cauiare and Puttargo. Herring, if any desire them, I haue taken many out of the bellies of Cods, some in nets; but the Saluages compare their store in the Sea, to the haires of their heads: and surely there are an incredible abundance vpon this Coast. In the end of August, September, October, and Nouember, you haue Cod againe, to make Cor fish, or Poore Iohn: and each hundred [fish] is as good as two or three hundred in the *Newfound Land*: so that halfe the labour in hooking, splitting, and turning is saued. And you may haue your fish at what Market you will, before they can haue any in *New-found Land*; where their fishing is chiefly but in Iune and Iuly: whereas it is heere in March, Aprill, May,

[*p.* 713.

September, October, and [18] Nouember, as is said. So that by reason of this plantation, the Marchants may haue fraught both out and home: which yeelds an aduantage worth consideration. [1614]

Your Cor-fish, you may in like manner transport as you see cause, to serue the Ports in *Portugale* (as *Lisbon*, *Auera*, *Porta port*, and diuers others) or what market you please, before your *Ilanders* [*i.e.*, *Icelanders*] returne. They being tyed to the season in the open Sea; you hauing a double season: and fishing before your doors, may euery night sleep quietly a shore with good cheare and what fires you will: or when you please [fish], with your wiues and familie; they onely [in] their ships in the maine Ocean.

The Mullets heere are in that abundance, you may take them with nets, sometimes by hundreds; where at *Cape blank*, they hooke them: yet those but one foot and a halfe in length; these two, three, or foure, as oft I haue measured. Much Salmon some haue found vp the Riuers as they haue passed: and heer the ayre is so temperate as all these at any time may well be preserued.

Imployment for poore people and fatherlesse children.

Now, young boyes and girles, Saluages or any other, be they neuer such idlers, may turne, carry, and return fish, without either shame, or any great paine: hee is very idle that is past twelue yeares of age and cannot doe so much; and she is very olde, that cannot spin a thre[a]d to make engines to catch them.

[*p.* 714.] The facility of the plantation.

For their transportation, the ships that go there to fish may transport the first; who for their passage [19] will spare the charge of double manning their ships; which they must doe in the *New-found Land*, to get their fraught: but one third part of that companie are onely but proper to serue a stage, carry a barrow, and turne Poor Iohn; notwithstanding, they must haue meate, drinke, clothes, and passage as well as the rest.

Now all I desire is but this. That those that voluntarily will send shipping, should make here the best choise they can, or accept such as are presented to them, to serue them at that rate; and their ships returning, leaue such with me, with the value of that they should receiue comming home, in such prouisions and necessarie tooles, armes, bedding and apparell, salt, hookes, nets, lines, and

[1614] such like, as they spare of the remainings; who till the next returne, may keepe their boates, and doe them many other profitable offices. Prouided I haue men of ability to teach them their functions: and a company fit for Souldiers to be ready vpon an occasion, because of the abuses which haue beene offered the poore Saluages, and the liberty both French or any that will, hath to deale with them as they please; whose disorders will be hard to reforme, and the longer the worse.

Now such order, with facilitie might be taken, with euery port Towne or Citie, to obserue but this order; with free power to conuert the benefits of their fraughts to what aduantage they please, and increase their numbers as they see occasion: who euer as they are able to subsist of themselues, may beginne the new Townes in [**20**] *New England* in memory of their olde; which freedome being confined but to the necessity of the generall good, the euent (with Gods help) might produce an honest, a noble, and profitable emulation.

Present commodities.

Salt vpon salt may assuredly be made; if not at the first in ponds, yet till they bee prouided this may be vsed. Then the Ships may transport Kine, Horses, Goates, course Cloath, and such commodities as we want; by [*against*] whose arriuall may be made that prouision of fish to fraught the Ships that they stay not; and then if the [*A.* 715.] sailors goe [*serve*] for wages, it matters not. It is hard if this returne defray not the charge; but care must be had, they arriue in the Spring, or else prouision be made for them against the Winter.

Of certaine red berries called Alkermes which is worth ten shillings a pound, but of these hath been sould for thirty or forty shillings the pound, may yearely be gathered a good quantitie.

Of the Musk Rat may be well raised gaines well worth their labour, that will endeuor to make tryall of their goodnesse.

Of Beuers, Otters, Martins, Blacke Foxes, and Furres of price, may yearely be had 6 or 7000: and if the trade of the *French* were preuented, many more. 25000 this yeare [1614] were brought from those Northren parts into *France*; of which trade, we may haue as good part as the *French*, if we take good courses.

Of Mynes of Golde and Siluer, Copper, and [21] probabilities of Lead, Christall and Allum, I could say much if relations were good assurances. It is true indeed, I made many trials, according to those instructions I had, which doe perswade mee I need not despaire, but there are metalls in the Countrey: but I am no Alchymist, nor will promise more then I know: which is, Who will vndertake the rectifying of an Iron forge, if those that buy meate, drinke, coals, ore, and all necessaries at a dear rate gaine; where all these things are to be had for the taking vp, in my opinion cannot lose. [1614]

Of woods seeing there is such plenty of all sorts; if those that build ships and boates, buy wood at so great a price as it is in *England*, *Spaine*, *France*, *Italy*, and *Holland*, and all other prouisions for the nourishing of mans life, liue well by their trade: when labour is all [that is] required to take those necessaries, without any other tax; what hazard will be here, but doe much better? And what commoditie in *Europe* doth more decay then wood? For the goodnesse of the ground, let vs take it fertill, or barren, or as it is: seeing it is certaine it beares fruites, to nourish and feed man and beast, as well as *England*; and the Sea those seuerall sorts of fish I haue related.

Thus seeing all good prouisions for mans sustenance, may with this facility be had by a little extraordinarie labour, till that transported be increased; and all necessaries for shipping, onely for labour: to which may bee added the assistance of the Saluages, which may easily be had, if they be discreetly handled in their [22] kindes; towards fishing, planting, and destroying woods. [*p.* 716.]

What gaines might be raised if this were followed (when there is but once men to fill your store houses, dwelling there; you may serue all *Europe* better and farre cheaper, then can the *Izeland* fishers, or the *Hollanders*, *Cape-blank*, or *Newfound Land*: who must be at as much more charge then you) may easily be coniectured by this example.

An example of the gains vpon euery yeare or six monethes returne.

2000. pound will fit out a ship of 200. and 1 [ship] of a 100 tuns. If the dry fish they both make, [they] fraught that of 200. and goe for *Spaine*, sell it but at ten shillings a quintal [40 *lbs*] (but commonly it giueth fifteen or twentie, espe-

[1614] cially when it commeth first, which [*at* 50 *Quintals to the Ton,*=£37 10*s.* *or* £50 *a Ton; therefore* 80 *Tons of fish*] amounts to 3 or 4000 pound; but say but tenne, which is the lowest), allowing the rest for waste, it amounts at that rate, to 2000 pound; which is the whole charge of your two ships, and their equipage. Then the returne [*by exchange*] of the money, and the fraught of the ship for the vintage [*homeward from Spain*] or any other voyage, is cleere gaine, [together] with your shippe of a 100 tuns of Train and oyle, besides the beuers and other commodities; and that you haue at home within six monethes, if God please but to send an ordinarie passage.

[*p.* 781.]

Then sauing halfe this charge by the not staying of your ships, your victual, ouerplus of men and wages; with her fraught thither of things necessarie for the planters, the salt being there made, as also may the nets and lines within a short time: if nothing were to bee expected but this, it might in time equalize your *Hollanders* gaines, if not exceed them. They returning but [**23**] wood, pitch, tarre, and such grosse commodities; you, wines, oyles, fruits, silkes, and such *Straits* commodities as you please to prouide by your Factors, against such times as your shippes arriue with them.

This would so increase our shipping and sailers, and so employ and encourage a great part of our idlers and others that want imployments fitting their qualities at home (where they shame [*are ashamed*] to doe that they would doe abroad), that could they but once taste the sweet fruites of their owne labours, doubtlesse many thousands would be aduised by good discipline, to take more pleasure in honest industrie, then in their humours of dissolute idlenesse.

[*p.* 717.] A description of the Countries in particular, and their situations.

But to returne a little more to the particulars of this Countrey, which I intermingle thus with my proiects and reasons, not being so sufficiently yet acquainted in those parts, to write fully the estate of the Sea, the Ayre, the Land, the Fruites, the Rocks, the People, the Gouernment, Religion, Territories and Limitations, Friends and Foes: but [simply] as I gathered from the niggardly relations in a broken language, to my vnderstanding, during the time I ranged those Countries, &c.

The most Northern part I was at, was the Bay of *Pennobscot*, which is East and West, North and South, more then ten leagues: but such were my occasions [that] I was constrained to be satisfied of them I found in the Bay, that the Riuer ranne farre vp into the Land, and was well inhabited with many people; but they were from their habitations, either fishing [**24**] among the Iles, or hunting the Lakes and Woods, for Deer and Beuers. The Bay is full of great Ilands, of one, two, six, eight, or ten miles in length; which diuides it into many faire and excellent good harbours. [1614]

On the East of it, are the *Tarrantines*, their mortall enemies [*i.e.*, *of Pennobscot*]; where inhabit the *French*, as they report, that liue with those people as one nation or family. And Northwest of *Pennobscot* is *Mecaddacut*, at the foot of a high mountaine (a kind of fortresse against the *Tarrantines*) adioyning to the high mountaines of *Pennobscot*, against whose feet doth beat the Sea: but ouer all the Land, Iles, or other impediments, you may well see them, sixteene or eighteene leagues from their situation. *Segocket* is the next; then *Nusconcus*, *Pemmaquid*, and *Sagadahock*.

Vp this Riuer [at *Sagadahock*], where was the Westerne plantation, are *Aumuckcawgen*, *Kinnebeck*, and diuers others; where there is planted some corne fields. Along this Riuer 40 or 50 miles, I saw nothing but great high cliffes of barren Rocks, ouergrowne with wood: but where the Saluages dwelt, there the ground is exceeding fat and fertill.

Westward of this Riuer is the Countrey *Aucocisco*, in the bottome of a large deepe Bay, full of many great Iles, which diuides it into many good harbours.

Sowocotuck is the next, in the edge of a large sandy Bay; *p. 718.]* which hath many Rocks and Iles: but few good harbours but for Barks, I yet know.

But all this Coast to *Pennobscot*, and as farre I could see Eastward of it, is nothing but such high craggy Cliffy Rocks and stony [**25**] Iles that I wondered such great trees could growe vpon so hard foundations. It is a Countrie rather to affright, then delight one. And how to describe a more plaine spectacle of desolation, or more

[1614] barren, I knowe not. Yet the Sea there is the strangest fishpond I euer saw; and those barren Iles so furnished with good woods, springs, fruits, fish, and foule, that it makes mee thinke, though the Coast be rockie, and thus affrightable; the Vallies, Plaines, and interior parts may well (notwithstanding) be very fertile. But there is no kingdome so fertile [that] hath not some part barren: and *New England* is great enough to make many Kingdomes and Countries, were it all inhabited.

As you passe the Coast still Westward, *Accominticus* and *Passataquack* are two conuenient harbors for small barks; and a good Countrie, within their craggie cliffs.

Angoam is the next. This place might content a right curious iudgement: but there are many sands at the entrance of the harbour; and the worst is, it is inbayed too farre from the deepe Sea. Heere are many rising hilles; and on their tops and descents, many corne fields and delightful groues. On the East, is an Ile of two or three leagues in length; the one halfe, plaine morish grasse fit for pasture, with many faire high groues of mulberie trees gardens: and there is also Okes, Pines, and other woods to make this place an excellent habitation, beeing a good and safe harbor.

Naimkeck though it be more rockie ground (for *Angoam* is sandie) [is] not much inferior; neither for the [**26**] harbor, nor any thing [that] I could perceiue, but the multitude of people.

[*pp.* 206, 232, 276, 718, 720, 853, 855, 866.] From thence doth stretch into the Sea, the faire headland *Tragabigzanda*, fronted with three Iles called the [*pp.* 720, 838.] three *Turks heads*: to the North of this, doth enter a great Bay, where wee founde some habitations and corne fields. They report a great Riuer, and at least thirtie [*p.* 719.] habitations, doe possesse this Countrie. But because the *French* had got their Trade, I had no leasure to discouer it.

The Iles of *Mattahunts* are on the West side of this Bay, where are many Iles, and questionlesse good harbors: and then the Countrie of the *Massachusets*, which is the Paradise of all those parts. For, heere are many Iles all planted with corne; groues, mulberries, saluage gardens, and good harbours: the Coast is for the most

part, high clayie sandie cliffs. The Sea Coast as you passe, shewes you all along large corne fields, and great troupes of well proportioned people: but the *French*, hauing remained heere neere six weekes, left nothing for vs to take occasion to examine the inhabitants relations, *viz.* if there be neer three thousand people vpon these Iles, and that the River doth pearce many daies iourneies the intralles of that Countrey. [1614]

We found the people in those parts verie kinde; but in their furie no lesse valiant. For, vpon a quarrell we had with one of them, hee onely with three others, crossed the harbor of *Quonahassit* to certaine rocks whereby wee must passe; and there let flie their arrowes for our shot, till we were out of danger.

Then come you to *Accomack*, an excellent good [**27**] harbor, good land; and no want of any thing but industrious people. After much kindnesse; vpon a small occasion, wee fought also with fortie or fiftie of those: though some were hurt, and some slaine; yet within an hour after, they became friendes.

Cape Cod is the next [that] presents it selfe, which is onely a headland of high hils of sand ouergrowne with shrubbie pines, hurts, and such trash; but an excellent harbor for all weathers. This *Cape* is made by the maine [*pp.* 719, 749.] Sea on the one side, and a great Bay on the other in forme of a sickle; on it doth inhabit the people of *Pawmet:* and in the bottome of the Bay, the people of *Chawum.*

Towards the South and Southwest of this *Cape*, is found a long and dangerous shoale of sands and rocks. But so farre as I incircled it, I found thirtie fadom [of] [*p.* 720.] water aboard the shore, and a strong current; which makes mee thinke there is a Channell about this shoale: where is the best and greatest fish to be had, Winter and Summer, in all that Countrie. But the Saluages say there is no Channell; but that the shoales beginne from the maine at *Pawmet*, to the Ile of *Nausit*; and so extends beyond their knowledge into the Sea.

The next to this, is *Capawack*, and those abounding Countries of copper, corne, people, mineralls: which I went [*pp.* 218, 732.] to discouer this last yeare [1615]; but because I miscarried

[1614] by the way, I will leaue them, till God please I haue better acquaintance with them.

A good Countrie. The *Massachusets*, they report, sometimes haue warres with the *Bashabes* of *Pennobskot*; and are not [**28**] alwaies friends with them of *Chawun* and their alliants: but now they are all friends, and haue each trade with other, so farre as they haue societie on each others frontiers. For they [*the Bashabes*] make no such voiages as from *Pennobskot* to *Cape Cod*, seldom to *Massachewset*.

In the North (as I haue said) they begunne to plant corne, whereof the South part hath such plentie as they haue what they will from them of the North; and in the Winter much more plenty of fish and foule: but both Winter and Summer hath it in the one part or other all the yeare; being the meane and most indifferent temper betwixt heat and colde, of all the regions betwixt the Lyne and the Pole: but the furs Northward are much better, and in much more plentie, then Southward.

Land markes. The remarkeablest Iles and mountains for Landmarkes are these. The highest Ile is *Sorico*, in the Bay of *Pennobskot*: but the three Iles and a rock of *Matinnack* are much furder in the Sea. *Metinicus* is also three plaine Iles and a rock, betwixt it and *Monahigan*. *Monahigan* is a rounde high Ile, and close by it [is] *Monanis*; betwixt which is a small harbor where we ride [*rode.*] In *Damerils* Iles is such another. *Sagadahock* is knowne by *Satquin* and foure or fiue Iles in the mouth. *Smyths* Iles are a heape together, [with] none neere them, against [*pp.* 718, 838.] *Accominticus*. The Three Turks Heads are three Iles [*pp.* 204, 232, 276, 718, 720, 853, 855, 866.] seen far to Sea-ward in regard of the headland.

The cheefe headlands are onely *Cape Tragabigzanda* and *Cape Cod*. [**29**]

[*p.* 721.] The cheefe mountaines, [are] them of *Pennobscot*; the twinkling mountaine of *Aucociso*; the greate mountaine of *Sasanou*; and the high mountaine of *Massachusit*: each of which you shall finde in the Mappe; their places, formes, and altitude.

The waters are most pure, proceeding from the intrals of rockie mountaines.

Hearbs. The hearbes and fruits are of many sorts and kindes: as alkermes, curran[t]s, or a fruit like curran[t]s, mulberries,

vines, respices, goosberries, plummes, walnuts, chesnuts, small nuts, &c., pumpions, gourds, strawberries, beans, pease, and mayze; a kinde or two of flax, wherewith they make nets, lines, and ropes both small and great, verie strong for their quantities [*substance*]. [1614]

Oke is the chiefe wood; of which there is great difference in regard of the soyle where it groweth: firre, pyne, walnut, ches[t]nut, birch, ash, elme, cypresse, ceder, mulberrie, plum tree, hazell, saxefrage, and many other sorts. Woods

Eagles, Gripes, diuers sorts of Haukes, Cranes, Geese, Brants, Cormorants, Ducks, Sheldrakes, Teale, Meawes, Guls, Turkies, Diue-doppers, and many other sorts, whose names I knowe not. Birds.

Whales, Grampus, Porkpisces, Turbut, Sturgion, Cod, Hake, Haddock, Cole, Cusk or small Ling, Shark, Mackerell, Herring, Mullet, Bas[s]e, Pinacks, Cunners, Pearch, Eels, Crabs, Lobsters, Muskles, Wilkes, Oysters, and diuerse others, &c. Fishes.

Moos[e], a beast bigger then a Stagge; deere, red and Fallow; Beuers, Wolues, Foxes both blacke and other; Aroughconds, Wild-cats, Beares, Otters, [**30**] Martins, Fitches, Musquassus, and diuerse sorts of vermine, whose names I know not. Beasts.

All these and diuerse other good things do heere, for want of vse, still increase, and decrease with little diminution; whereby they growe to that abundance [that] you shall scarce finde any Baye, shallow shore, or Coue of sand, where you may not take many Clampes, or Lobsters, or both at your pleasure; and in many places lode your boat if you please: nor Iles where you finde not fruits, birds, crabs, and muskles, or all of them for [the] taking, at a lowe water. And in the harbors we frequented, a little boye might take of Cunners and Pinacks and such delicate fish, at the ships sterne, more then sixe or tenne can eate in a daie; but with a casting net, thousands when wee pleased: and scarce any place, but Cod, Cuske, Holybut, Mackerell, Scate, or such like, a man may take with a hooke or line what he will. And in diuers sandy Baies, a man may draw with a net great store of Mullets, [*p.* 72a.] Ba[s]ses, and diuers other sorts of such excellent fish, as many as his Net can drawe on shore. [There is] no

[1614] Riuer where there is not plentie of Sturgion, or Salmon, or both: all which are to be had in abundance obseruing but their seasons. But if a man will goe at Christmasse to gather Cherries in *Kent*, he may be deceiued, though there be plentie in Summer: so heere, these plenties haue each their seasons, as I haue expressed.

We for the most part had little but bread and vinegar: and though the most part of Iuly when the fishing decaied, they wrought all day, laie abroade in the Iles [**31**] all night, and liued on what they found, yet were [they] not sicke. But I would wish none [to] put himself long to such plunges, except necessitie constraine it. Yet worthy is that person to starue that heere cannot liue; if he haue sense, strength, and health: for, there is no such penury of these blessings in any place, but that a hundred men may, in one houre or two, make their prouisions for a day; and hee that hath experience to mannage well these affaires, with fortie or thirtie honest industrious men, might well vndertake (if they dwell in these parts) to subiect the Saluages, and feed daily two or three hundred men, with as good corne, fish, and flesh, as the earth hath of those kindes, and yet make that labor but their pleasure: prouided that they haue engin[e]s that be proper for their purposes.

A note for men that haue great spirits, and smal meanes.

Who can desire more content, that hath small meanes; or but only his merit to aduance his fortune, then to tread, and plant that ground hee hath purchased by the hazard of his life? If he haue but the taste of virtue and magnanimitie, what to such a minde can bee more pleasant, then planting and building a foundation for his Posteritie, gotte from the rude earth, by Gods blessing and his owne industrie, without preiudice to any? If hee haue any graine of faith or zeale in Religion, what can hee doe lesse hurtfull to any: or more agreeable to God, then to seeke to conuert those poore Saluages to know Christ, and humanitie, whose labors with discretion will triple requite thy charge and paines? What so truely su[i]tes with honour and honestie, [**32**] as the discouering things vnknowne? erecting Townes, peopling Countries, informing the ignorant, reforming things vniust, teaching virtue; and

gaine to our Natiue mother-countrie a kingdom to attend her: finde imployment for those that are idle, because they know not what to doe: so farre from wronging any, as to cause Posteritie to remember thee; and remembring thee, euer honour that remembrance with praise? [1616]

Consider: What were the beginnings and endings of the Monarkies of the *Chaldeans*, the *Syrians*, the *Grecians*, and *Romanes*, but this one rule; What was it they would not doe, for the good of the commonwealth, or their Mothercitie? For example: *Rome*, What made her such a Monarchesse, but onely the aduentures of her youth, not in riots at home; but in dangers abroade? and the iustice and iudgement out of their experience, when they grewe aged. What was their ruine and hurt, but this; The excesse of idlenesse, the fondnesse of Parents, the want of experience in Magistrates, the admiration of their vndeserued honours, the contempt of true merit, their vniust iealo[u]sies, their politicke incredulities, their hypocriticall seeming goodnesse, and their deeds of secret lewdnesse? finally, in fine, growing onely formall temporists, all that their predecessors got in many years, they lost in few daies. Those by their pain and vertues became Lords of the world; they by their ease and vices became slaues to their seruants. This is the difference betwixt the vse of Armes in the field, and on the monuments of stones; [**33**] the golden age and the leaden age, prosperity and miserie, iustice and corruption, substance and shadowes, words and deeds, experience and imagination, making Commonwealths and marring Commonwealths, the fruits of vertue and the conclusions of vice.

Then, who would liue at home idly (or thinke in himselfe any worth to liue) onely to eate, drink, and sleepe, and so die? Or by consuming that carelesly, his friends got worthily? Or by vsing that miserably, that maintained vertue honestly? Or for being descended nobly, pine with the vaine vaunt of great kindred, in penurie? Or (to maintaine a silly shewe of brauery) toyle out thy heart, soule, and time, basely; by shifts, tricks, cards, and dice? Or by relating newes of others actions, sharke here or there for a dinner, or supper; deceiue thy friends, by faire promises and dissimulation, in borrowing where thou neuer intendest to pay; offend the lawes, surfeit with [*f.* 72*v*]

[1616] excesse, burden thy Country, abuse thy selfe, despaire in want, and then couzen thy kindred, yea euen thine owne brother, and wish thy parents death (I will not say damnation) to haue their estates? though thou seest what honours, and rewards, the world yet hath for them [who] will seeke them and worthily deserue them.

I would be sor[r]y to offend, or that any should mistake my honest meaning: for I wish good to all, hurt to none. But rich men for the most part are growne to that dotage, through their pride in [**34**] their wealth, as though there were no accident could end it, or their life.

And what hellish care do such take to make it their owne miserie, and their Countries spoile, especially when there is most neede of their imployment? drawing by all manner of inuentions, from the Prince and his honest subiects, euen the vitall spirits of their powers and estates: as if their Bagges, or Bragges, were so powerfull a defence, the malicious could not assault them; when they are the onely baite, to cause vs not to be onely assaulted; but betrayed and murdered in our owne security, ere we well perceiue it.

An example of secure coueteousness.

May not the miserable ruine of *Constantinople*, their impregnable walles, riches, and pleasures [at] last taken by the *Turke* (which are but a bit, in comparison of their now mightines) remember vs of the effects of priuate couetousness? at which time the good *Emperour* held himselfe rich enough, to haue such rich subiects, so formall in all excesse of vanity, all kinde of delicacie and prodigalitie. His pouertie when the *Turke* besieged, the citizens (whose marchandizing thoughts were onely to get wealth, little conceiuing the desperate resolution of a valiant expert enemy) left the Emp[erour] so long to his conclusions, hauing spent all he had to pay his young, raw, discontented Souldiers; that sodainly he, they, and their citie were all a prey to the deuouring *Turke*. And what they would not spare for the maintenance of them who aduentured their liues to defend them, did serue onely their [**35**] enemies to torment them, their friends, and countrey, and all Christendome to this present day. Let this lamentable example remember you that are rich (seeing there are such great theeues in the world to robbe you) not [to] grudge to lend some proportion, to breed them that

[*f.* 725.]

haue little, yet [are] willing to learne how to defend you: for, it is too late when the deede is a-doing. [1616]

The *Romanes* estate hath beene worse then this: for, the meere couetousnesse and extortion of a few of them, so mooued the rest, that not hauing any imployment but contemplation; their great iudgements grew to so great malice, as themselues were sufficient to destroy themselues by faction: Let this mooue you to embrace imployment for those whose educations, spirits, and iudgements want but your purses; not onely to preuent such accustomed dangers, but also to gaine more thereby then you haue.

And you fathers, that are either so foolishly fond, or so miserably couteous, or so willfully ignorant, or so negligently carelesse, as that you will rather maintaine your children in idle wantonness, till they grow your masters; or become so basely vnkinde, as they wish nothing but your deaths; so that both sorts grow dissolute: and although you would wish them any where to escape the gallowes, and ease your cares; though they spend you here one, two, or three hundred pound[s] a yeer; you would grudge to giue halfe so much in aduenture with them, to obtaine an estate, which in a small time, but with a little assistance of your [**36**] prouidence, might be better then your owne. But if an Angell should tell you, [that] any place yet vnknowne can afford such fortunes; you would not beleeue him, no more then *Columbus* was beleeued there was any such Land as is now the well knowne abounding *America*; much lesse such large Regions as are yet vnknowne, as well in *America*, as in *Affrica*, and *Asia*, and *Terra incognita*; where were courses for gentlemen (and them that would be so reputed) more suiting their qualities, then begging from their Princes generous disposition, the labours of his subiects, and the very marrow of his maintenance.

The Authors conditions.

I haue not beene so ill bred, but I haue tasted of *Plenty* and *Pleasure*, as well as *Want* and *Miserie*: nor doth necessitie yet, or occasion of discontent, force me to these endeauors: nor am I ignorant what small thanke I shall haue for my paines; or that many would haue the Worlde imagine them to be of great iudgement, that can but blemish these my designes, by their witty obiections and

[1616] detractions: yet (I hope) my reasons with my deeds, will so preuaile with some, that I shall not want imployment in these affaires, to make the most blinde see his owne
[*f.* 726.] senselessnesse, and incredulity; Hoping that gaine will make them affect that, which Religion, Charity, and the Common good cannot. It were but a poore deuice in me, To deceiue my selfe; much more the King, State, my Friends and Countrey, with these inducements: which, seeing his Maiestie hath giuen [**37**] permission, I wish all sorts of worthie, honest, industrious spirits, would vnderstand: and if they desire any further satisfaction, I will doe my best to giue it: Not to perswade them to goe onely; but goe with them: Not leaue them there; but liue with them there.

I will not say, but by ill prouiding and vndue managing, such courses may be taken, [that] may make us miserable enough: But if I may haue the execution of what I haue proiected; if they want to eate, let them eate or neuer digest Me. If I performe what I say, I desire but that reward out of the gaines [which] may su[i]te my paines, quality, and condition. And if I abuse you with my tongue, take my head for satisfaction. If any dislike at the yeares end, defraying their charge, by my consent they should freely returne. I feare not want of companie sufficient, were it but knowne what I know of those Countries; and by the proofe of that wealth I hope yearely to returne, if God please to blesse me from such accidents, as are beyond my power in reason to preuent: For, I am not so
[*f.* 928.] simple to thinke, that euer any other motiue then wealth, will euer erect there a Commonweale; or draw companie from their ease and humours at home, to stay in *New England* to effect my purposes.

The planters pleasures, and profits. And lest any should think the toile might be insupportable, though these things may be had by labour, and diligence: I assure my selfe there are who delight extreamly in vaine pleasure, that take much more paines in *England*, to enioy it, then I should doe heere [*New England*] to gaine wealth sufficient: [**38**] and yet I thinke they should not haue halfe such sweet content: for, our pleasure here is still gaines; in *England* charges and losse. Heer nature and liberty affords vs that freely, which in *England* we want,

or it costeth vs dearely. What pleasure can be more, then (being tired with any occasion a-shore, in planting Vines, Fruits, or Hearbs, in contriuing their owne Grounds, to the pleasure of their owne mindes, their Fields, Gardens, Orchards, Buildings, Ships, and other works, &c.) to recreate themselues before their owne doores, in their owne boates vpon the Sea; where man, woman and childe, with a small hooke and line, by angling, may take diuerse sorts of excellent fish, at their pleasures? And is it not pretty sport, to pull vp two pence, six pence, and twelue pence, as fast as you can ha[u]le and veare a line? He is a very bad fisher [that] cannot kill in one day with his hooke and line, one, two, or three hundred Cods: which dressed and dried, if they be sould there for ten shillings the hundred, though in England they will giue more than twentie, may not both the seruant, the master, and marchant, be well content with this gaine? If a man worke but three dayes in seauen, he may get more then hee can spend, vnlesse he will be excessiue. Now that Carpenter, Mason, Gardiner, Taylor, Smith, Sailer, Forgers, or what other, may they not make this a pretty recreation though they fish but an houre in a day, to take more then they eate in a weeke? or if they will not eate it, because there is so much better [**39**] choice; yet sell it, or change it, with the fisher men, or marchants, for any thing they want. And what sport doth yeeld a more pleasing content, and lesse hurt or charge then angling with a hooke; and crossing the sweete ayre from Ile to Ile, ouer the silent streames of a calme Sea? Wherein the most curious may finde pleasure, profit, and content. [1616] [*p.* 727.]

Thus, though all men be not fishers: yet all men, whatsoeuer, may in other matters doe as well. For necessity doth in these cases so rule a Commonwealth, and each in their seuerall functions, as their labours in their qualities may be as profitable, because there is a necessary mutuall vse of all.

Imployments for gentlemen.

For Gentlemen, what exercise should more delight them, then ranging dayly those vnknowne parts, vsing fowling and fishing, for hunting and hawking? and yet you shall see the wilde-haukes giue you some pleasure, in seeing them stoope (six or seauen after one another) an houre or two together, at the skuls of fish in the faire harbours, as

[1616] those a-shore at a foule; and neuer trouble nor torment yourselues, with watching, mewing, feeding, and attending them: nor kill horse and man with running and crying, *See you not a hawk?* For hunting also: the woods, lakes, and riuers affoord not onely chase sufficient, for any that delights in that kinde of toyle, or pleasure; but such [*p.* 728.] beasts to hunt, that besides the delicacy of their bodies for food, their skins are so rich, as may well recompence thy dayly labour, with a Captains pay. [**40**]

Employments for labourers. For labourers, if those that sowe hemp, rape, turnups, parsnips, carrats, cabidge, and such like; giue 20, 30, 40, 50 shillings yearely for an acre of ground, and meat drinke and wages to vse it, and yet grow rich; when better, or at least as good ground, may be had, and cost nothing but labour; it seems strange to me, any such should there grow poore.

My purpose is not to perswade children from their parents; men from their wiues; nor seruants from their masters: onely, such as with free consent may be spared: But that each parish, or village, in Citie or Countrey, that will but apparell their fatherlesse children, of thirteene or fourteen years of age, or young mar[r]ied people, that haue small wealth to liue on; heere by their labour may liue exceeding well: prouided alwaies that first there bee a sufficient power to command them, houses to receiue them, meanes to defend them, and meet prouisions for them; for, any place may bee ouerlain: and it is most necessarie to haue a fortresse (ere this grow to practice) and sufficient masters (as, Carpenters, Masons, Fishers, Fowlers, Gardiners, Husbandmen, Sawyers, Smiths, Spinsters, Taylors, Weauers, and such like) to take ten, twelue, or twentie, or as ther is occasion, for Apprentises. The Masters by this may quicklie growe rich; these may learne their trades themselues, to doe the like; to a generall and an incredible benefit, for King, and Countrey, Master, and Seruant. [**41**]

Example of the Spanyards. It would bee an historie of a large volume, to recite the aduentures of the *Spanyards*, and *Portugals*, their affronts and defeats, their dangers and miseries; which with such incomparable honour and constant resolution,

so farre beyond beleefe, they haue attempted and indured in their discoueries and plantations, as may well condemne vs, of too much imbecillitie, sloth, and negligence: yet the Authors of those new inuentions, were held as ridiculous, for a long time, as now are others, that doe but seek to imitate their vnparalleled vertues. And though we see daily their mountaines of wealth (sprong from the plants of their generous indeuours) yet is our sensualitie and vntowardnesse such, and so great, that wee either ignorantly beleeue nothing, or so curiously contest to preuent wee knowe not what future euents; that wee either so neglect, or oppresse and discourage the present, as wee spoile all in the making, crop all in the blooming; and building vpon faire sand, rather then rough rockes, iudge that wee knowe not, gouerne that wee haue not, feare that which is not; and for feare some should doe too well, force such against their willes to be idle or as ill. And who is he [that] hath iudgement, courage, and any industrie or qualitie with vnderstanding, will leaue his Countrie, his hopes at home, his certaine estate, his friends, pleasures, libertie, and the preferment sweete *England* doth afford to all degrees, were it not to aduance his fortunes by inioying his deserts? whose prosperitie once appearing will incourage others: but it must be cherished [42] as a childe, till it be able to goe, and vnderstand it selfe, and not corrected nor oppressed aboue it[s] strength, ere it knowe wherefore. [1616] [p. 729.]

A child can neither performe the office, nor deedes of a man of strength, nor indure that affliction He is able; nor can an Apprentice at the first performe the part of a Maister. And if twentie yeeres bee required to make a child a man, seuen yeares limited [to] an apprentice for his trade, if scarce an age be sufficient to make a wise man a States man, and commonly a man dies ere he hath learned to be discreet: If perfection be so hard to be obtained, as of necessitie there must bee practice, as well as theorick: Let no man much condemne this paradox opinion, to say, that halfe seauen yeeres is scarce sufficient, for a good capacitie, to learne in these affaires, how to carrie himselfe: and who euer shall trie in these remote places the erecting of a Colony, shall finde at the ende of seauen yeares occasion enough to vse all his discretion: and, in

[1616] the *Interim* all the content, rewardes, gaines, and hopes will be necessarily required, to be giuen to the beginning, till it bee able to creepe, to stand, and goe, yet time enough to keepe it from running: for there is no feare it wil grow too fast, or euer to any thing; excepte libertie, profit, honor, and prosperitie there found, more binde the planters of those affaires, in deuotion to effect it; then bondage, violence, tyranny, ingratitude and such double dealing, as bindes freemen to become slaues, and honest men [to] turne knaues: which hath euer bin the ruine of the most popular [43] common-weales; and is verie vnlikelie euer well to begin in a new.

[p. 730.]

The blisse of Spaine.

Who seeth not what is the greatest good of the *Spanyard*, but these new conclusions, in searching those vnknowne parts of the vnknowne world? By which meanes hee diues euen into the verie secrets of all his Neighbours, and the most part of the world: and when the *Portugale* and *Spanyard* had found the *East* and *West Indies*; how many did condemn themselues, that did not accept of that honest offer of Noble *Columbus*? who, vpon our neglect, brought them to it, perswading our selues the world had no such places as they had found: and yet euer since wee finde, they still (from time to time) haue found new Lands, new Nations, and trades, and still daily dooe finde both in *Asia*, *Africa*, *Terra Incognita*, and *America*; so that there is neither Soldier nor Mechanick, from the Lord to the beggar, but those parts afforde them all imploiment; and discharge their Natiue soile, of so many thousands of all sorts, that else, by their sloth, pride, and imperfections, would long ere this haue troubled their neighbours, or haue eaten the pride of *Spaine* it selfe.

Now he knowes little, that knowes not *England* may well spare many more people then *Spaine*, and is as well able to furnish them with all manner of necessaries. And seeing, for all they haue, they cease not still to search for that they haue not, and know not; It is strange we should be so dull, as not [to] maintaine that which wee haue, and pursue that wee [44] know.

Surely I am sure many would taste it ill, to bee abridged of the titles and honours of their predecessors: when if but truly they would iudge themselues; looke how inferior they

are to their noble vertues, so much they are vnworthy of their honours and liuings: which neuer were ordained for showes and shadowes, to maintaine idlenesse and vice; but to make them more able to abound in honor, by heroycall deeds of action, iudgement, pietie, and vertue. What was it, they would not doe both in purse and person, for the good of the Commonwealth? which might moue them presently to set out their spare kindred in these generous designes. [1616]

Religion, aboue all things, should moue vs (especially the Clergie) if wee were religious, to shewe our faith by our workes; in conuerting those poore saluages, to the knowledge of God, seeing what paines the *Spanyards* take to bring them to their adulterated faith. Honor might moue the Gentrie, the valiant, and industrious; and the hope and assurance of wealth, all; if wee were that we would seeme, and be accounted. Or be we so far inferior to other nations, or our spirits so far deiected, from our auncient predecessors, or our mindes so [set] vpon spoile, piracie, and such villany, as to serue the *Portugall*, *Spanyard*, *Dutch*, *French*, or *Turke*, (as to the cost of *Europe*, too many dooe) rather then our God, our King, our Country, and our selues? excusing our idlenesse, and our base complaints, by want of imploiement; when heere is such choise of all sorts, and for all degrees, in the planting [**45**] and discouering these North parts of *America*. [*p.* 731.]

My second voyage to New England.

Now to make my words more apparent by my deeds; I was, the last yeare, 1615. to haue staied in the Countrie, to make a more ample triall of those conclusions with sixteene men; whose names were

Thomas Dirmir.	Gent.		*Iohn Partridge.* and *two boies.*	Souldiers. [*p.* 732.] [*pp.* 223, 258, 732, 736, 746, 747.]
Edward Stalings.				
Daniel Cage.			*Thomas Digbie.*	Sailers. [*pp.* 221, 734.]
Francis Abbot.			*Daniel Baker.*	
Iohn Gosling.			*Adam Smith.*	
William Ingram.	Souldiers.		*Thomas Watson.*	
Robert Miter.			*Walter Chissick.*	
Dauid Cooper.			*Iohn Hall.*	

[1615] I confesse, I could haue wished them as many thousands, had all other prouisions bin in like proportion: nor would I haue had so fewe, could I haue had meanes for more: yet (would God haue pleased wee had safely arriued) I neuer had the like authoritie, freedom, and prouision, to doe so well. The maine assistance next God, I had to this small number, was my acquaintance among the Saluages; especially, with *Dohannida*, one of their greatest Lords; who had liued long in *England*. By the meanes of this proud Saluage, I did not doubt but quickly to haue gotte that credit with the rest of his friends and alliants, to haue had as many of them, as I desired, in any designe I intended; and that trade also they had, by such a kind of exchange [**46**] of their Countrie commodities; which both with ease and securitie in their seasons may be vsed.

[*p.* 205.] With him and diuerse others, I had concluded to inhabit, and defend them against the *Terentynes*; with a better power then the *French* did them; whose tyranny did inforce them to imbrace my offer, with no small deuotion.

And though many may thinke me more bolde then wise, in regard to their power, dexteritie, treacherie, and incon-
[*pp.* 697, 701.] stancie; hauing so desperately assaulted and betraied many others: I say but this (because with so many, I haue many times done much more in *Virginia*, then I intended heere, when I wanted that experience *Virginia* taught me) that to mee it seemes no daunger more then ordinarie. And though I know my selfe [to be] the meanest of many thousands, whose apprehensiue inspection can pearce beyond the boundes of my habilities, into the hidden things of Nature,
[*p.* 733.] Art, and Reason; yet I intreate such [to] giue me leaue to excuse my selfe of so much imbecilitie, as to say, that in these eight yeares [1606–1614] which I haue been conuersant with these affaires, I haue not learned there is a great difference, betwixt the directions and iudgement of experimentall knowledge, and the superficiall coniecture of variable relation: wherein rumor, humor, or misprision haue such power that oft times one is enough to beguile twenty; but twentie not sufficient to keep one from being deceiued. Therefore I know no reason but to beleeue my own eies before any mans imagination, that is but wrested from the

conceits of my owne proiects, and indeauours. [47] But I honor, with all affection, the counsell and instructions of iudiciall directions, or any other honest aduertisement; so farre to obserue, as they tie mee not to the crueltie of vnknowne euents. [1614]

These are the inducements that thus drew me to neglect all other imployments, and spend my time and best abilities in these aduentures. Wherein, though I haue had many discouragements by the ingratitude of some, the malicious slanders of others, the falsenesse of friendes, the trechery of cowards, and slownesse of aduenturers: but chiefly by one *Hunt*, who was Master of the ship, with whom oft arguing these proiects for a plantation, howeuer hee seemed well in words to like it, yet he practiced to haue robbed mee of my plots [*maps*], and obseruations, and so to leaue me alone in a desolate Ile, to the fury of famine, and all other extreamities (lest I should haue acquainted Sir *Thomas Smith*, my Honourable good friend, and the Councell of *Virginia*); to the end, he and his associates might secretly ingrosse it, ere it were knowne to the State. [*pp.* 220, 698, 754.]

Yet that God that alway hath kept me from the worst of such practices, deliuered me from the worst of his dissimulations.

Notwithstanding after my departure, hee abused the Saluages where hee came, and betrayed twenty seauen of these poore innocent soules, which he sould in *Spaine* for slaues; to mooue their hate against our Nation, as well as to cause my proceedings to be so much the more difficult.

Now, returning in the Bark, in the fift of August [1614], [*pp.* 700, 733.]
[48] I arriued at Plimouth: where imparting there my purposes to my honourable friend Sir *Ferdinando Gorge*, and some others; I was so incouraged, and assured to haue the managing their authoritie in those parts, during my life, that I ingaged myselfe to vndertake it for them.

Arriuing at London, I found also many promise me such assistance, that I entertained *Michaell Cooper* the Master, who returned with mee, and others of the company. How hee dealt with others, or others with him, I know not: But my publike proceeding gaue such incouragement, that it became so well apprehended by some fewe of the Southren

[1615] Company, as these proiects were liked, and he furnished from London with foure ships at Sea, before they at Plimouth had made any prouision at all, but onely a ship cheefely set out [*f.* 701.] by Sir *Ferdinando Gorge*; which, vpon *Hunts* late trecherie among the Saluages, returned as she went, and did little or nothing, but lost her time.

I must confesse I was beholden to the setters forth of the foure ships that went with *Cooper*; in that they offered mee that imploiment if I would accept it: and I finde, my refusall hath incurred some of their displeasures, whose fauor and loue I exceedingly desire, if I may honestly inioy it. And though they doe censure me as opposite to their proceedings; they shall yet still in all my words and deedes finde, it is their error, not my fault, that occasions their dislike. For hauing ingaged my selfe in this businesse to the West Countrie; I had beene verie dishonest to haue [49] broke my promise; nor will I spend more time in discouerie or fishing, till I may goe with a companie for plantation: for, I know my grounds. Yet euery one that reades this booke can not put it in practice; though it may helpe any that haue seene those parts. And though they endeauour to worke me euen out of my owne designes, I will not much enuy their fortunes: but, I would bee sory, their intruding ignorance should, by their defailements, bring those certainties to doubtfulnesse. So that the businesse prosper, I haue my desire; be it by *Londoner*, *Scot*, *Welch*, or *English*, that are true subiects to our King and Countrey: the good of my Countrey is that I seeke; and there is more then enough for all, if they could bee content but to proceed.

The occasion of my returne. At last it pleased Sir *Ferdinando Gorge*, and Master Doctor *Sut[c]liffe*, Deane of *Exceter*, to conceiue so well of these proiects, and my former imployments, as induced them to make a new aduenture with me in those parts, whither they haue so often sent to their continuall losse. By whose example, many inhabitants of the West Country, made promises of much more then was looked for, but their priuate emulations quickly qualified that heat in the greater number; so that the burden lay principally on them, and some few Gentlemen, my friends, in *London*,

In the end I was furnished with a Ship of 200. and another of 50 [tons]. But ere I had sayled 120 leagues, shee broke all her masts; pumping each watch 5 or 6000 strokes: onely her spret saile [**50**] remayned to spoon before the wind, till we had reaccommodated her a Iury mast, and the rest, to returne for *Plimouth*. [1615] [*p.* 734.]

My Vice-admirall beeing lost [*i.e.*, *lost sight of*], not knowing of this, proceeded [on] her voyage.

My reimbarkment, incounters with pyrats and imprisonment by the French.

Now with the remainder of those prouisions, I got out again in a small Barke of 60 tuns with 30 men (for this of 200, and prouision for 70); which were the 16 before named [*p.* 217], and 14 other saylors for the ship.

With those I set saile againe the 24 of Iune [1615]: where what befell me (because my *actions* and *writings* are so publicke to the world, enuy still seeking to scandalize my indeauours, and seeing no power but death can stop the chat of ill tongues, nor imagination of mens mindes) lest my owne relations of those hard euents, might by some constructors, be made doubtfull, I haue thought it best to insert the examinations of those proceedings, taken by Sir *Lewis Stukley* a worthie Knight, and Vice-admirall of Deuonshire; which were as followeth.

The examination of Daniel Baker, *late Steward to Captaine* Iohn Smith *in the returne of* Plimouth; *taken before Sir* Lewis Stukley *Knight, the eight of December* 1615.

Captaine Fry his ship 140 tuns, 36 cast peeces and murderers, 80 men; of which 40, or 50. were master gunners.

WHo saith, being chased two dayes by one *Fry*, an English Pirate, that could not board vs, by reason of foule weather, *Edmund Chambers* the Master, *Iohn Minter* his mate, *Thomas Digby* the Pilot, and others importuned his saide Captaine to yeeld; houlding it vnpossible hee should defend [**51**] himselfe: and that the saide Captaine should send them his boat, in that they had none: which at last he concluded vpon these conditions, That *Fry* the Pyrate should vow not to take any thing from Captaine *Smith*, that might

[1615] overthrowe his voyage, nor send more Pirats into his ship then hee liked off; otherwaies, he would make sure of them he had, and defend himselfe against the rest as hee could.

More: he confesseth that the quarter-masters and *Chambers* receiued golde of those Pirats; but how much, he knoweth not: Nor would his Captain come out of his Caben to entertaine them; although a great many of them had beene his saylers, and for his loue would haue wafted vs to the Iles of *Flowers*.

[f. 735.] The one of 200, the other 20 [tuns].

At *Fyall*, wee were chased by two French Pyrats, who commanded vs Amaine. *Chambers*, *Minter*, *Digby* and others, importuned againe the Captaine to yeeld; alledging they were *Turks*, and would make them all slaues: or *Frenchmen*, and would throw them all ouer board if they shot but a peece; and that they were entertained to fish, and not to fight; vntill the Captaine vowed to fire the powder and split the ship, if they would not stand to their defence; whereby at last wee went cleere of them, for all their shot.

The Admirall 140 tuns, 12 peeces, 12 murderers, 90 men, with long pistols, pocket pistols, musket[s], sword[s] and poniard[s]; the Vice-admirall, 100 tuns; the Rere-admiral 60; the other 80 [tuns]: all had 250 men most[ly] armed as is said.

At *Flowers*, wee were chased by foure French men of warre; all with their close fights afore and after. And this examinants Captaine hauing provided for our defence, *Chambers*, *Minter*, *Digby*, [**52**] and some others, againe importuned him to yeeld to the fauour of those, against whom there was nothing but ruine by fighting: But if he would goe aboard them, in that hee could speak *French*, by curtesie hee might goe cleere; seeing they offered him such faire quarter, and vowed they were Protestants, and all of *Rochell*, and had the Kings commission onely to take *Spaniards*, *Portugales*, and Pyrats; which at last hee did; but they kept this examinates Captaine and some other of his company with him.

The next day the French men of warre went aboard vs, and tooke what they listed, and diuided the company into their seuerall ships, and manned this examinates ship with the Frenchmen, and chased with her all the shippes they saw: vntill about fiue or sixe dayes after, vpon better consideration, they surrendered the ship and victualls, with the most part of our prouision, but not our weapons.

More: he confesseth that his Captaine exhorted them

to performe their voyage, or goe for *New found Land* to returne fraughted with fish, where hee would finde meanes to proceed in his plantation: but *Chambers* and *Minter* grew vpon tearms they would not; vntill those that were Souldiers concluded with their Captaines resolution, they would; seeing they had clothes, victualls, salt, nets, and lines sufficient, and expected their armes, and such other things as they wanted, [which] the French men promised to restore. [1615]

The gentlemen and souldiers were euer willing to fight.

Which the Captaine the next day went to seeke, and sent them about loading of [**53**] commodities, as powder, match, hookes, instruments, his sword and dagger, bedding, aqua vitæ, his commission, apparell, and many other things; the particulars he remembreth not: But, as for the cloath, canuas, and the Captaines cloathes, *Chambers*, and his associats diuided it amongst themselues, and to whom they best liked; his Captaine not hauing any thing, to his knowledge, but his wastecoat and breeches.

And in this manner going from ship to ship, to regaine our armes and the rest, they seeing a sayle, gaue chase vntill night.

The next day, being very foule weather, this examinate came so neere with the ship vnto the French men of warre, that they split the maine sayle on the others spret sayle yard. *Chambers* willed the Captaine come aboard, or he would leaue him: whereupon the Captaine commanded *Chambers* to send his boate for him. *Chambers* replyed she was split (which was false), telling him hee might come if he would in the Admiralls boat.

The Captaines answer was, he could not command her, nor come when hee would; so this examinate fell on sterne; and that night left his said Captaine alone amongst the French men, in this maner, by the command of *Chambers*, *Minter*, and others.

Daniel Cage, *Edward Stalings*, Gentlemen; *Walter Chissell*, *Dauid Cooper*, *Robert Miller*, and *Iohn Partridge*, beeing examined, doe acknowledge and confesse, that *Daniel Baker* his examination aboue written is true. [**54**] [*pp.* 258, 732, 736, 746].

[1615] [ℓ. 736.] A double treachery.

NOw the cause why the French detayned me againe, was the suspicion, this *Chambers* and *Minter* gaue them that I would reuenge my selfe, vpon the Bank, or in *New found Land*, of all the *French* I could there incounter; and how I would haue fired the ship, had they not ouerperswaded mee: and many other such like tricks to catch but opportunie in this maner to leaue me. And thus they returned to *Plimouth*, and perforce with the French I proceeded.

A fleet of nine French men of war and fights with the Spaniards.

Being a Fleet of eight or nine sayle, we watched for the *West Indies* fleet, till ill weather separated vs from the other 8. Still we spent our time about the Iles neere *Fyall*: where to keepe my perplexed thoughts from too much meditation of my miserable estate, I writ this discourse; thinking to haue sent it [to] you of his Maiesties Councell, by some ship or other: for I saw their purpose was to take all they could.

At last we were chased by one Captain *Barra* an *English* Pyrat, in a small ship with some twelue peeces of ordinance, about thirty men, and neer all starued. They sought by curtesie releefe of vs; who gaue them such faire promises, as at last wee betrayed Captaine *Wolliston* (his Lieftenant) and foure or fiue of their men aboard vs, and then prouided to take the rest perforce.

Now my part was to be prisoner in the gun roum, and not to speake to any of them vpon my life. Yet had *Barra* knowledge what I was. Then *Barra* perceiuing wel these *French* [ℓ 737.] intents, made ready to fight; and *Wolliston* as resolutely regarded not their threats: [**55**] which caused vs [to] demurre vpon the matter longer, som[e] sixteene houres; and then returned their prisoners, and some victualls also, vpon a small composition.

The next wee tooke was a small *English* man of *Poole* from *New found Land*. The great caben, at this present, was my prison; from whence I could see them pillage those poore men of all that they had, and halfe their fish: when hee was gone, they sould his poore cloathes at the maine mast, by an outcry, which scarce gaue each man seauen pence a peece.

Not long after, we tooke a *Scot* fraught from *Saint*

Michaels to *Bristol*: he had better fortune then the other. For, hauing but taken a boats loading of sugar, marmelade, suckets, and such like: we discried foure sayle, after whom we stood; who forling [*furling*] their maine sayles attended vs to fight. But our *French* spirits were content onely to perceiue they were *English* red crosses. [1615]

Within a very small time after, wee chased foure *Spanish* shippes [that] came from the *Indies*: we fought with them foure or fiue houres, tore their sayles and sides: yet not daring to board them, lost them.

A poore Caruell of *Brasile*, was the next we chased: and after a small fight, thirteene or fourteen of her men being wounded, which was the better halfe; we took her, with 370 chests of sugar. A prize worth 16000 crownes.

The next was a *West Indies* man, of 160 tuns, with 1200 hides, 50 chests of cutchanell, 14 coffers of wedges of siluer, 8000 ryalls of 8, and six coffers of the King of *Spaines* treasure; besides the pillage and rich coffers of many rich passengers. A prize worth 200000 crownes. [*p.* 738

Two [**56**] monethes [*Aug.–Oct.* 1615] they kept me in this manner, to manage their fights against the *Spaniards*, and be a prisoner when they tooke any *English*. Now though the Captaine had oft broke his promise, which was to put me a-shore on the Iles [*Azores*], or the next ship he tooke: yet at last, he was intreated [*persuaded*] I should goe for *France* in the Caruell of sugar; himself [being] resolued still to keepe the Seas.

Within two dayes after, we were ha[i]led by two *West Indy* men: but when they saw vs waue them for the King of *France*, they gaue vs their broad sides, shot through our mayne mast, and so left vs.

Hauing liued thus, neer three moneths [*Aug.–Nov.* 1615] among those French men of warre; with much adoe, we arriued at the *Gulion*, not far from *Rochel*; where in stead of the great promises they alwaies fed me with, of double satisfaction, and full content, they kept me fiue or sixe daies prisoner in the Caruell: accusing me to bee him that burnt their Colony in *New France*; to force mee giue them a discharge before the Iudge of the Admiralty, and so stand to their curtesie for satisfaction, or lie in prison, or a worse mischiefe

[1615] To preuent this choise, in the end of such a storme that beat them all vnder Hatches, I watched my opportunity to get a-shore in their boat; where-into, in the darke night, I secretly got: and with a halfe pike that lay by me, put a drift for *Rat Ile*: but the Current was so strong, and the Sea so great, I went a drift to Sea, till it pleased God the winde so turned with the tide, that although I was, all this fearefull night of gusts and raine, in the Sea, the space of 12 [**57**] houres, when many ships were driuen a shore, and diuerse split (and being with sculling and bayling the water tired, I expected each minute would sinke mee) at last I arriued in an oazie Ile by *Charowne*; where certaine fowlers found mee neere drowned, and halfe dead, with water, colde, and hunger.

My escape from the French men. [*p.* 739.]

By those, I found meanes to gette to *Rochell*; where I vnderstoode the man of warre which we left at Sea, and the rich prize was split; the Captaine drowned, and halfe his companie the same night, within seauen leagues of that place, from whence I escaped alone, in the little boate, by the mercy of God; far beyond all mens reason, or my expectation.

Arriuing *at Rochell*, vpon my complaint to the Iudge of the Admiraltie, I founde many good words and faire promises; and ere long many of them that escaped drowning, tolde mee the newes they heard of my owne death: these I arresting, their seuerall examinations did so confirme my complaint, it was held proofe sufficient.

All which being performed according to the order of iustice, from vnder the iudges hand; I presented it to the English Ambassador then at *Burdeaux*: where it was my chance to see the arriuall [21 *Nov.* 1615] of the Kings great mariage brought from *Spaine*.

Sir Thomas Edmunds.

Of the wrack of the rich prize some 36000. crownes worth of goods came a shore and was saued with the Caruell, which I did my best to arrest: the Iudge did promise me I shold haue iustice; what will bee the conclusion as yet [*June* 1616], I know not. But vnder the colour to take Pirats and West-Indie men (because the *Spanyards* will not [**58**] suffer the *French* trade in the West-Indies) any goods from thence, tho[u]gh they take them vpon the Coast of *Spaine*, are lawfull prize; or from any of his territories ou of the limits of Europe.

They betraied mee hauing the broad seale of England: and neere twentie sayle of English more; besides them concealed, in like maner were betrayed that year. [*p.* 740.]

Leauing thus my businesse in *France*, I returned [*Dec.* 1615] to Plimouth, to find them that had thus buried me amongst the *French*: and not onely buried mee, but with so much infamy as such treacherous cowards could suggest to excuse their villanies. But my clothes, bookes, instruments, Armes, and what I had, they shared amongst them, and what they liked; fayning, the French had all [that] was wanting: and had throwne them into the Sea, taken their ship, and all; had they not runne away and left me as they did. [1615-6]

My returne for England 1615.

The cheeftaines of this mutinie that I could finde, I laied by the heeles; the rest, like themselues, confessed the truth as you haue heard [*p.* 221].

Now how I haue or could preuent these accidents, I rest at your censures. But to the matter.

NEwfound-land at the first, I haue heard, was held as desperate a fishing, as this I proiect in *New England*; *Placentia*, and the *Banke*, were also as doubtful to the *French*: But, for all disasters [that have] happened [to] mee, the businesse is the same as it was: and the fiue ships (whereof one was reported more then three hundred tunnes) went forward; and found fish so much, that neither Izeland-men, nor Newfoundland-men, [that] I could heare of hath beene there, will goe any more to either place, if they may goe thither.

So, that vpon the returne of my Viceadmirall that proceeded on her voyage when I spent my [**59**] masts [*p.* 221]; from Plimouth this yeare [1616] are gone foure or fiue saile: and from London as many; onely to make voyages of profit: where[as] the Englishmen haue yet beene, all their returnes together (except Sir *Fr. Popphames*) would scarce make one a sauer of neere a douzen I could nominate; though there

The successe of my vice-Admirall and the feure ships of London, from New England. [*p.* 741.]

[1616] be fish sufficient, as I perswade my selfe, to fraught yearely foure or fiue hundred sayle, or as many as will goe.

For this fishing stretcheth along the Coast from *Cape Cod* to *Newfound-land*, which is seauen or eight hundered miles at the least; and hath his course in the deepes, and by the shore, all the yeare long; keeping their ha[u]nts and feedings as the beasts of the field, and the birds of the aire. But, all men are not such as they should bee, that haue vndertaken those voiages: and a man that hath but heard of an instrument, can hardly vse it so well as hee that by vse hath contriued to make it. All the *Romanes* were not *Scipioes*: nor all the *Geneweses*, *Columbuses*: nor all *Spanyards*, *Corteses*: had they diued no deeper in the secrets of their discoueries then wee, or stopped at such doubts and poore accidentall chances; they had neuer beene remembered as they are; yet had they no such certainties to begin as wee.

But, to conclude, *Adam* and *Eue* did first beginne this innocent worke, To plant the earth to remaine to posteritie,
[*p.* 934.] but not without labour, trouble, and industrie. *Noe*, and his family, beganne againe the second plantation; and their seede as it still increased, hath still planted new Countries, and one countrie another: and so the world to that estate it is. But [**60**] not without much hazard, trauell, discontents, and many disasters. Had those worthie Fathers, and their memorable off-spring not beene more diligent for vs now in these Ages, then wee are to plant that yet vnplanted, for the after liuers: Had the seede of *Abraham*, our Sauiour Christ, and his Apostles, exposed themselues to no more daungers to teach the Gospell, and the will of God then wee; Euen wee our selues, had at this present beene as Saluage, and as miserable as the most barbarous Saluage yet vnciuilized.

The *Hebrewes*, and *Lacedæmonians*, the *Goths*, the *Grecians*, the *Romanes*, and the rest, what was it they would not vndertake to inlarge their Territories, enrich their subiects, resist their enemies? Those that were the founders of those great Monarchies and their vertues, were no siluered idle golden *Pharises*, but industrious iron-steeled *Publicans*:
[*p.* 742.] They regarded more prouisions, and necessaries for their

people, then iewels, riches, ease, or delight for themselues. [1616]
Riches were their seruants, not their Maisters. They ruled (as Fathers, not as Tyrantes) their people as children, not as slaues; there was no disaster could discourage them; and let none thinke they incountered not with all manner of incumbrances. And what haue euer beene the workes of the greatest Princes of the earth, but planting of countries, and ciuilizing barbarous and inhumane Nations, to ciuilitie and humanitie? whose eternall actions, fill our histories. Lastly, the *Portugales* and *Spanyards:* whose euerliuing actions, before our eyes will [61] testifie with them our idlenesse, and ingratitude to all posterities, and the neglect of our duties in our pietie and religion we owe our God, our King, and Countrie; and want of charity to these poore saluages, whose Countrie wee challenge, vse and possesse; excepte wee bee but made to vse, and marre what our Fore-fathers made, or but onely tell what they did, or esteeme ourselues too good to take the like paines. Was it vertue in them, to prouide that doth maintaine vs? and basenesse for vs to doe the like for others? Surely no.

Then seeing we are not borne for our selues, but each to helpe other, and our abilities are much alike at the houre of our birth, and the minute of our death: Seeing our [*ſ.* 936.] good deedes, or our badde, by faith in Christs merits, is all we haue to carrie our soules to heauen, or hell: Seeing honour is our liues ambition; and our ambition after death, to haue an honourable memorie of our life: and seeing by noe meanes wee would bee abated of the dignities and glories of our Predecessors; let vs imitate their vertues to bee worthily their successors.

FINIS.

At London *printed the* 18. *of Iune, in the yeere of our Lord* 1616.

[f. 69r.] # To his worthy Captaine, the Author.

[1616] *Ft thou hast led, when I brought vp the Rere*
In bloodie wars, where thousands haue bin slaine.
Then giue mee leaue, in this some part to beare;
And as thy seruant, heere to read my name.
Tis true, long time thou hast my Captaine beene
In the fierce wars of Transiluania:
Long ere that thou America *hadst seene,*
Or led wast captiued in Virginia;
Thou that to passe the worlds foure parts dost deeme
No more, then t'were to goe to bed, or drinke,
And all thou yet hast done, thou dost esteeme
As nothing. This doth cause mee thinke
That thou I'aue seene so oft approu'd in dangers
(And thrice captiu'd, thy valor still hath freed)
Art yet preserued, to conuert those strangers:
By God thy guide; I trust it is decreed.
For mee: I not commend, but much admire
Thy England yet vnknowne to passers by-her.
For it will praise it selfe in spight of me;
Thou it, it thou, to all posteritie

Your true friend,
and souldier,
Ed. Robinson.

[Ensign *Carlton* and Sergeant *Robinson*, both of Captain *Smith*'s own escaped alive from the battle of Rottenton [*the Pass of Rothenthurm*, Nov. 1602; see *pp.* 851–2.]

To my honest Captaine, the Author. [p. 692.]

[1616]

MAlignant Times! What can be said or don,
But shall be censur'd and traduc't by some!
This worthy Work, which thou hast bought so dear,
Ne thou, nor it, Detractors neede to fear.
Thy words by deedes so long thou hast approu'd,
Of thousands knowe thee not thou art belou'd.
And this great Plot will make thee ten times more
Knowne and beleu'd, than ere thou wert before.
I neuer knew a Warryer yet, but thee,
From wine, Tobacco, debts, dice, oaths, so free.
I call thee Warrier *: and I make the bolder;*
For, many a Captaine *now, was neuer Souldier.*
Some such may swell at this: but (to their praise)
When they haue don like thee, my Muse shall raise
Their due deserts to Worthies yet to come,
To liue like thine (admir'd) till day of Doome.

Your true friend,
somtimes your soldier,
THO. CARLTON.

Company of Cavalry, were the only two Englishmen, out of twelve, who *in Transylvania; about* 15 *miles south of Hermannstadt*] on the 18th

[The additional page only found in some copies.]

[p. 699.] Becauſe the Booke was printed ere the Prince his Highneſſe had altered the names, I intreate the Reader, peruſe this ſchedule; which will plainely ſhew him the correſpondence of the old names to the new.

[Compare with List at pp. 699–700.]

The old names.	The new.	The old names.	The new.
Cape Cod	*Cape Iames*	*Sowocatuck*	*Ipſwitch*
[*Cape Cod Harbour*]	*Milford hauen*	*Babana*	*Dartmouth*
Chawum	*Barwick*		*Sandwich*
Accomack	*Plimouth*	*Ancociſco's Mount*	*Shooters hill*
Sagoquas	*Oxford*	*Ancociſco*	*The Baſe*
Maſſachuſets Mount	*Cheuit hill*	*Anmoughcawgen*	*Cambridge*
Maſſachuſets Riuer	*Charles Riuer*	*Kinebeck*	*Edenborough*
Totant	*Fawmouth*	*Sagadahock*	*Leeth*
A Country not diſcouera	*Briſtow*	*Pemmaquid*	*S. Iohns towne*
[pp. 204, 206, 232, 276, 718, 720, 853, 855, 866.] *Naemkeck*	*Baſtable*	*Monahigan*	[*] *Barties Iles*
Cape Trabigzanda	*Cape Anne*	*Segocket*	*Norwich*
Aggawom	*Southhampton*	*Matinnack*	[*] *Willowby's Iles*
Smith's Iles	*Smith's Iles*	*Metinnicus*	[*] *Hoghton's Iles*
Paſſataquack	*Hull*	*Mecadacut*	*Dunbarton*
Accominticus	*Boſton*	*Pennobſcot*	*Aborden*
Saſſanowes Mount	*Sno[w]don hill*	*Nusket*	*Lowmonds*

[* These three named by Captain *J. Smith*, and not by Prince *Charles*: see p. 700.]

NEW
ENGLANDS
TRIALS.

Declaring the successe of 26. Ships employed thither within these sixe yeares: *with the benefit of that Countrey by sea and* land: and how to build threescore sayle *of good Ships, to make a little* Navie Royall.

Written by Captaine
Iohn Smith.

LONDON,
Printed by *VVilliam Iones.*
1620.

[It is evident from SMITH's letter &c. printed at *p.* cxxi, that the substance of this tract was written so early as 1618.

It was thus entered for publication at Stationers' Hall:

11 Decembris [1620]

William Jones Entred for his Copie vnder the handes of Master Doctor GOADE and Master Lownes warden, A booke Called *Newe Englands tryall*, by IOHN SMITH. . . . . vjd

A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554–1640 *A.D.*, Ed. by E. ARBER, iv. 43., 1877.

For the bibliography of this tract, see *p.* cxxx.

It was, in the first instance, written to the Peers of the realm. "I present this vnto your Lordship, and to all the Lords in *England*, hoping (by your gracious good liking and approbation) to moue all the worthy Companies of this noble City, and all the cities and Countries in the whole Land to consider it." *p.* 247.

Other copies were afterwards struck off with the dedication to the Fishmongers Company at *p.* 236.

Our Author says, in 1624:

"Now all these proofes and this relation I now call *New-Englands* triall. I caused two or three thousand of them to be printed: one thousand with a great many Maps both of *Virginia* and *New-England*, I presented to thirty of the chiefe Companies in *London* at their Halls desiring either generally or particularly (them that would) to imbrace it . . .

"Neere a yeere [1621] I spent to vnderstand their resolutions, which was to me a greater toile and torment than to haue been in *New-England* about my businesse but with bread and water, and what I could get there by my labour; but in conclusion, seeing nothing would be effected, I was contented as well with this losse of time and charge as all the rest," *p.* 748.

And again, in 1630.

"Yet for all this, in all this time [1616–1621], though I had divulged to my great labour, cost, and losse, more than seven thousand Bookes and Maps, and moved the particular Companies in *London*, as also Noblemen, Gentlemen, and Merchants for a Plantation, all availed no more than to hew Rocks with Oister-shels; so fresh were the living abuses of *Virginia* and the Summer Iles in their memories," *p.* 941.

Within four months of the publication of this tract, our indefatigable Author had already planned out the *General History*, see *p.* cxxv.

Mr. CHARLES DEANE, in the Preface to his fifty-copy reprint of this tract, in 1873, states—

"On my first visit to the Bodleian Library at Oxford, in 1866, the first book I asked to look at was HARIOT's *Virginia*, 1588; and the second was the first edition of Captain JOHN SMITH's *New England Trials*, 1620; both of which I had understood to be in that library. These books are of exceeding rarity; and though the British Museum also has a copy of each, I am not aware that either can be found in this country [*the United States*]."]

[*Dedicatory Epistle* in the Bodleian copy.]

TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE AND

Worthy aduenters to all discoueries and Plantations, espetially to New England.

[1620]

TO *the consideration of your fauourable constructions I present these sixe yeares continued trials from New England: if you please to peruse them, and make vse of them, I am richly rewarded. The subiect deserueth a farre better habit, but it is as good as the father can giue it. Let not therefore a souldiers plainnesse cause you refuse to accept it, how euer you please to dispose of him, that humbly sacreth himselfe and best abilities to his Countries good, and the exquisite iudgement of your renowned perfections.*

Yours to command,

Iohn Smith.

[*Dedicatory Epistle* in British Museum copy, C. 33 c. 15.]

TO THE RIGHT WORSHIPFVL THE Maister, the Wardens, and the Companie of the Fish-mongers.

[1620] *TO the consideration of your fauourable constructions I present these sixe yeares continued trials from New England: if you please to peruse them, and make vse of them, I am richly rewarded. The subiect deserueth a farre better habit, but it is as good as the father can giue it. Let not therefore a souldiers plainnesse cause you refuse to accept it, how euer you please to dispose of him, that humbly sacreth himselfe and best abilities to his Countries good, and the exquisite iudgement of your renowned perfections.*

Yours to command,
Iohn Smith.

NEVV ENGLANDS Trials.

NEw *England* is a part of *America* betwixt the degrees of 41. and 45. the very meane betwixt the North Pole and the Line. [1614] [pp. 192, 253, 706, 938.]

From 43. to 45. the coast is mountainous, rockie, barren and broken Iles that make many good harbours. The water is deepe close to the shoare; there are many riuers and fresh springs: few Saluages, but an incredible aboundance of fish, fowle, wilde fruits, and good timber.

From 43. to 41. and halfe, an excellent mixed coast of stone, sand, and clay: much corne, many people, some Iles, many good harbours, a temperate ayre, and therein all things necessarie for the building [of] ships of any proportion, and good merchandize for their fraughts; within a square of twelue leagues 25. harbours I sounded, thirtie seuerall Lordships I sawe, and so neare as I could imagine, three thousand men. I was vp one riuer fortie miles, crossed the mouths of many, whose heads are reported to be great Lakes; where they kill their Beuers; inhabited with many people, who trade with those of New *England*, and them of *Cannada*.

[1577–1614]

The benefite of Fishing, as that famous Philosopher Master Dee *reporteth in his Brittish Monarchie* [1577 A.D.]

[pp. 254, 743.] He saith, that more then forty foure yeares agoe [*i.e.*, *by* 1577], the Herring Busses out of the Low-countries, vnder the King of *Spaine*, were fiue hundred, besides one hundred Frenchmen, and three or foure hundred saile of Flemings.

The coasts of *Wales* and Lankashire was vsed by three hundred sayle of strangers.

Ireland at *Baltemore* fraughted yerely three hundred sayle of Spaniards, where King *Edward* the sixt intended to haue made a strong Castell, because of the straite, to haue tribute for fishing.

Black Rocke was yearely fished by three or foure hundred sayle of Spaniards, Portugalls, and Biskiners.

Master [Tobias] Gentleman [*of Yarmouth*] *and many Fisher-men and Fishmongers, with whom I haue conferred, report*:

[p. 197.] The Hollanders raise yearely [*i.e.*, *in* 1620] by Herrings, Cod, and Ling, 3000000 pounds [*i.e.*, *sterling*].

English and French, by Salt-fish, poore John, Salmons, and Pilchards, 300000. pounds.

[p 744.] *Hambrough* and the Sound, for Sturgion, Lobsters and Eeles, 100000 pounds.

Cape Blanke, Tunny and Mullit by the Biskiners and Spaniards, 30000. pounds.

But diuers other learned experienced Obseruers say, though it may seeme incredible:

That the Duke of *Medina* receiueth yearely tribute, of the Fishers of *Tunny*, *Mullit*, and *Purgos*, more than 10000. pounds.

Lubeck hath seuen hundred shippes: *Hambrough* sixe hundred: *Embden* [but] lately a fisher towne, 1400: whose customes by the profit of fishing hath made them so powerfull as they be.

Holland and *Ze*[*a*]*land*, not much greater then *Yorkeshire*, hath thirty walled townes, 400. villages, and 20000. sayle of ships and hoyes; 3600 [*i.e.*, *vessels*] are fishermen,

whereof 100 are Dog[g]ers, 700. Pinckes and Welbotes, 700. frand botes, 400. Enaces, 400. Galbotes, Britters and To[a]debotes, with 1300. Busses; besides three hundred that yearely fish about *Yarmouth*, where they sell their fish for gold; and 15. years agoe [*in* 1605] they had more then 116000 Sea-faring men. [1620]

These fishing ships do take yearely 200000. Last of fish, 12. barrells to a Last; which amounteth to 3000000. pounds [*i.e.*, *sterling*] by the Fishermens price, that 14. yeres agoe [1606] did pay for their tenths 300000. pound; which venting in *Pomerland*, *Sprusland*, *Denmarke*, *Lefland*, *Russia*, *Suethland*, *Germany*, *Netherlands*, *England*, or elsewhere, &c. make their returnes in a yeare about 7000000. pounds; and yet in *Holland* they haue neither matter to build shippes, nor merchandize to set them foorth, yet they as much encrease as other Nations decay [p. 255.]

But leauing these vncertainties as they are, of this I am certaine:

That the coast of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, the north Sea, with *Island*, and the Sound, New-found land, and Cape Blancke, doe serue all *Europe*, as well the land Townes as Portes; and all the Christian shipping, with these sorts of Staple fish which is transported, from whence it is taken, many a thousand mile, *viz.* [p. 745.]

Herring.
Salt-fish.
poore Iohn.
Sturgion.
Mullit.
Tunny.
Porgos.
Caviare.
Buttargo.

Now seeing all these sorts of fish, or the most part of them, may be had in a land more fertile, temperate, and plentifull of all necessaries for the building of ships, boates and houses; and the nourishment of man: the seasons are so proper, and the fishings so neare the habitations wee may there make, that New *England* hath much aduantage of the most of those parts, to serue all *Europe* farre cheaper then they can, who at home haue neither wood, salt, nor food, but at great rates; at Sea, nothing but what they carry in their shippes, an hundred or two hundred leagues from their habitation.

But New *Englands* fishings [are] neare land, where is helpe of wood, water, fruites, fowles, corne, or other refresh-

[1614-5] ings needefull; and the *Terceras, Mederas, Canaries, Spaine,*
[p. 197.] *Portugall, Prouance, Sauoy, Sicilia,* and all *Italy,* as conuenient markets for our dry Fish, greene Fish, Sturgion, Mullit, Caviare, and Buttargo, as *Norway, Swethland, Littuania,* or *Germany,* for their *Herring* (which is here also in aboundance, for taking): They returning but wood,
[p. 256.] pitch, tarre, soape-ashes, cordage, flaxe, waxe, and such like commodities. We, wines, oyles, sugars, silkes, and such merchandizes as the Straites [*i.e., of Gibraltar*] affoord, whereby our profites may equalize theirs; besides the increase of shipping and Mariners.

And for proofe hereof.

Proofe 1. 1614. [pp. 187, 256, 697, 891, 936.] *With two shippes I went from the Downes, the third of March* [1614], *and arriued in New* England, *the last of Aprill. I had but fortie fiue men and boyes; we built seuen boates,* 37. *did fish; my selfe with eight others ranging the coast. I tooke a plot of what I could see, got acquaintance of the inhabitants, eleuen hundred beuer skinnes, one hundred Martins, and as many Otters* [i.e., skins]; *fortie thousand of dry fish we sent for* Spaine; *with the salt-fish, treine oyle and furres, I returned for* England *the* 18. *of Iuly, and arriued safe with my company the latter end of August. Thus in sixe moneths I made my voyage, out and home* [i.e., made a successful voyage], *and by the labour of* 45. *got neare the valew of fifteene hundred pounds in those grosse commodities.*

This yeare also one went from Plimmouth, *spent his victuall, and returned with nothing.*

Proofe 2. 1615. [pp. 219, 731, 733.] *The Londoners, vpon this, sent foure good shippes, and because I would not vndertake it for them, hauing ingaged my selfe to them of the West, the Londoners entertained* [engaged] *the men that came home with me. They set sayle in Ianuary* [1615], *and arriued there in March: they found fish enough vntill halfe Iune, fraughted a shippe of three hundred Tunnes;* [*which*] *went for* Spaine *with drie fish, which was taken by the Turkes: one went to* Virginia, *to relieue that Collony; and two came for* England, *with the greene fish, treine oyle, and furres, within sixe moneths.*

Proofe 3. 1615. [pp. 220, 257, 731.] *With a labyrinth of trouble I went from* Plimmouth, *with a shippe of two hundred Tunnes, and one of fiftie: but ill-*

weather breaking all my mastes, I was forced to returne to Plimmouth: *where re-imbarking my selfe in a ship of three score tunnes, how I escaped the English Pirats, and the French, and was betrayed by foure Frenchmen of warre, I referre you to the Description of New* England [*pp.* 217–227]; *but my Vice-Admirall* [the second ship], *notwithstanding the latenesse of the yeare, setting forth with me in March* [1615] (*the Londoners in Ianuary*) *she arriued in May* (*they in March,*) *yet came home well fraught in August, and all her men well, within fiue moneths* [*and*] *odde dayes.* [1615-8] [*pp.*733, 745, 937.] [*p.* 227.]

The Londoners, ere I returned from France [Dec. 1615], *for all their losse by the Turkes* (*which was valewed about foure thousand pounds*), *sent two more in Iuly* [1615]; *but such courses they tooke by the* Canaries *to the* west Indies, *it was ten months ere they arriued in New* England [May 1616], *wasting in that time, their seasons, victuall, and healths: yet there they found meanes to refresh themselues; and the one returned neere fraught with fish and traine* [*oil*], *within two moneths after* [July 1616]. Proofe 4. 1616. [*p.* 937.]

From Plimmouth *went foure ships, onely to fish and trade, some in February, some in March: one, of two hundred tunnes, got thither in a moneth, and went full fraught for* Spaine; *the rest returned to* Plimouth *well fraught, and their men well, within* 5 *months* [*and*] *odde daies.* Proofe 5. 1616.

From London *went two more, one of* 220. *tunnes, got thither in sixe weekes; and within sixe weekes after, with fortie foure men and boyes, was full fraught, and returned againe into* England *within fiue months and a few dayes: the other went to the* Canaries *with dry fish, which they solde at a great rate, for royalls of eight, and* (*as I heard*) *turned Pirates.* Proofe 6. 1616.

I being at Plimouth, *prouided with three good ships, was wind-bound three months, as was many a hundred sayle more; so that the season being past, the shippes went for* New-found-land: *whereby my desseigne was frustrate; which was to me and my friends, no small losse.* Proofe 7. 1617. [*p.* 940.]

There was foure good shippes prepared at Plimouth; *but by reason of their disagreement, the season so wasted, as onely two went forward: the one, being two hundred tunnes, returned well fraught to* Plimouth, *and her men in health, within fiue moneths; the other, of foure score* [*tuns*], *went for* Bilbow *with dry fish, and made a good returne.* Proofe 8. 1618. [*pp.*258, 746.] [*p.* 941.]

[1619-20] *This year againe, diuers shippes intending to go from* Plimmouth, *so disagreed, as there went but one of* 200. *tuns: who stayed in the Countrey about six weekes, with thirty-eight men and boyes; had her fra[u]ght, which she sold at the first penny for* 2100. *pounds, besides the furres; so that euery poore Sayler, that had but a single share, had his charges, and sixteene pound ten shillings for his seuen moneths worke: but some of the company say, for sixe months in the* Hercules, *they receeued seuenteene pound two shillings a share.*

Proofe 9. 1619. [*p.* 747.]

Proofe 10. 1620. [*p.* 259.]

For to make triall this yeare, there is gone six or seuen sayle from the west Countrey, onely to fish, three of which are returned; and (as I am certainly informed) haue made so good a voyage, that euery Sayler for a single share had twenty pounds for his seuen moneths worke, which is more then in twenty moneths he should haue gotten, had he gone for wages any where.

[*pp.* 748, 941.]

For this next yeare 1621. *it is reported* 12. *or* 20. *saile is a preparing.*

Now though all the former ships haue not made such good v[o]yages as they expected, by sending opiniated vnskilfull men, that had not experienced diligence, to saue that they tooke, nor take that there was; which now patience and practise both brought to a reasonable kinde of perfection, in despite of all Detractors and Calumniations, the Countrey yet hath satisfied all, the defect hath beene in their vsing or abusing it, not in it selfe, nor me.

[*p.* 266.]

[*pp.* 771, 41.]

Heere I entreate your Honourable leaues to answer some obiections. Many do thinke it strange, if this be true, I haue made no more vse of it, and rest so long without employment. And I thinke it more strange they should tax me before they haue tried what I haue done, both by Sea and Land, as well in *Asia*, and *Affrica*, as *Europe* and *America*.

These fourteene yeres [1606–1620] I haue spared neither pains nor money, according to my abilitie, in the discouery of *Norumbega*; where with some thirty seauen men and boyes, the remainder of an hundred and fiue, against the fury of the Saluages, I began that plantation now in *Virginia*; which beginning (here and there) cost me neare fiue yeares worke, and more then fiue hundred pound of my owne estate; beside all the dangers, miseries

and incomberances and losse of other imployments I endured *gratis*. From which blessed Virgin, where I stayed till I left fiue hundred English, better prouided then euer I was (ere I returned), sprung the fortunate habitation of *Somer Iles*. [1620] [p. 771.] Burmudos.

This Virgins sister (called *New England*, *An.* 1616, at my humble suite, by our most gracious Prince *Charles*) hath bene neare as chargeable to mee and my friends; from all which, although I neuer got [a] shilling, but it cost mee a pound, yet I thinke my selfe happy to see their prosperities. [p. 267.] [pp. 177, 232.]

If it yet trouble a multitude to proceede vppon these certainties, what thinke you I vndertooke, when nothing was knowne, but that there was a vast Land? I neuer had power and meanes to do any thing (though more hath bene spent in formall delayes then would haue done the businesse) but in such a penurious and miserable maner, as if I had gone a begging to builde an Vniversity; where, had men bin as forward to aduenture their purses, as to crop the fruites of my Labours, thousands ere this, had bene bettered by these designes. Thus betwixt the spurre of Desire, and the bridle of Reason, I am neare ridden to death in a ring of Despaire; the reines are in your hands, therefore I entreate you to ease mee: and those blame mee (beleeue) this little may haue taught me, not to be so forward againe at euery motion, vnlesse I intended nothing but to carry newes. For now they dare aduenture a shippe, that, when I went first, would not aduenture a groat, so they may be at home againe by Michaelmasse. But to the purpose. [p. 772.]

By this all men may perceiue the ordinary performance of this voyage in fiue or sixe moneths, the plenty of fish is most certainely approoued; and it is certaine from *Cannada* and *New England* hath come neare twenty thousand Beuer Skinnes, within these fiue yeares [1615–1620]. Now, had each of those shippes transported but sixe, or three pigs; as many goates and hens; fruits, plants, and seeds as I proiected: by this time there might haue beene victuall for a thousand men. But the desire of present gaine (in many) is so violent, and the indeuours of many vndertakers so negligent, euery one so regarding his priuate,

[1620] that it is hard to effect any publique good, and impossible
[*p.* 268.] to bring them into a body, rule, or order, vnlesse both Authoritie and Mony assist experiences: it is not a worke for euery one to plant a Colonie (but when a house is built, it is no hard matter to dwell in it.) This requireth
[*pp.* 191, 268, 705, 964.] all the best par[t]s of art, iudgement, courage, honestie, constancy, diligence and experience to doe but neare well: and there is a great difference betwixt Saying and Doing.

But to conclude, the fishing will go forward if you plant it or no; whereby you may transport a colony for no great charge, that in a short time, might prouide such fraughts, to buy of vs their dwelling, as I would hope no ship could goe or come emptie from *New England*.

The charge of this is onely salt, nettes, hookes, lines, kniues, Irish rugges, course cloth, beads, hatchets, glasse, and such trash, onely for fishing and trade with the Saluages, besides our own necessarie prouisions, whose indeuours will quickely defray all this charge; and the Saluages haue intreated me to inhabit where I will.

[*p.* 773.] Now all those ships haue bin fished [*fishing*] within a square of two leagues; and not one ship of all these, would yet aduenture further, where questionlesse 500. saile may haue their fraught, better then in *Island*, *Newfound land*, or elsewhere, and be in their markets before the other can haue their fish in their ships. Because *New England* fishing beginneth in mid-February, the other not till mid-Maie, the progression heereof tends much to the aduancement of *Virginia*, and the *Bermudas:* and will be a good friend in time of need to the Inhabitants in *New-found-land*.

[*pp.* 268, 781, 801.] The returnes made by the Westerne shippes are commonly divided into 3. parts; one for the owners of the shippe, another for the maister and his company, the third for his victulers; which course being still permitted, will be no hinderance to the plantation, goe there neuer so many, but a meanes of transporting that yearely for little or nothing, which otherwise will cost many a hundred of pounds.

If a Ship can gaine, twenty, thirty, fifty in the hundred, nay neare three hundred for 100. in seuen moneths, as you see they haue doone, spending twice so much time
[*p.* 269.] in going and coming as in staying there; were I there

planted, seeing the varietie of the fishings in their seasons, [1620]
serueth the most part of the yeare; and with a little labour we might make all the salt we neede vse, I can conceiue no reason to distrust, but the doubling and trebling their gaines that are at all the former charge, and can fish but two months in a yeare: and if those [who] do giue twenty, thirty, or forty shillings for an acre of land; or ship Carpenters, Forgers of yron &c. that buy all things at a deare rate, grow rich, when they may haue as good [*pp.* 201, 715.] of all needfull necessaries for taking (in my opinion) should not grow poore; and no commoditie in *Europe* doth more decay then wood.

Maister *Dee* recordeth in his *British Monarchie*, that King *Edgar* had a nauie of foure thousand saile, with which hee yearely made his progresse about this famous Monarchy of Great *Brittany*, largely declaring the benefit thereof; whereupon it seems he proiected to our most memorable Queene *Elizabeth*, the erecting of a Fleete of three score saile, he called a little Nauy Royall; immi- [*p.* 774.] tating the admired *Pericles*, prince of *Athens*, that could neuer secure that tormented estate, vntill he was Lord and Captaine of the Sea.

At this none neede wonder, for who knowes not, her Royal Maiestie during her life, by the incredible aduentures of her Royal Nauy and valiant Souldiers and Sea-men; notwithstanding all treacheries at home, the protecting and defending [of] *France* and *Holland*, and re-conquering *Ireland*; yet all the world, by Sea or Land, both feared, loued and admired good Queene *Elizabeth*.

Both to maintaine and increase that incomparable honour (God be thanked) to her incomparable Successour, our most Royall Lord and Soueraigne King *Iames*, &c. this great Philosopher hath left this to his Maiesty and his kingdomes considerations.

That if the Tenths of the Earth be proper to God, it is also due by Sea: the Kings highwayes are common to passe, but not to digge for mines or anie thing; so *Englands* coasts are free to passe, but not to fish, but by his Maiesties prerogatiue.

His Maiestie of *Spaine*, permits none to passe the Popes

[1620] order for the East and West *Indies*, but by his permission,
[p. 270.] or at their perills. If all that world be so iustly theirs, it is no iniustice for *England* to make as much vse of her owne, as strangers doe; that pay to their owne Lords the tenth, and not to the owners of those Liberties any thing, whose subiects may neither take nor sell any in their territories: which small tribute would maintaine his little Nauy Royall, and not cost his Maiestie a penny; and yet maintaine peace with all forrainers, and allow them more curtesie, than any Nation in the world affords to *England*.

It were a shame to alledge, that *Holland* is more worthy to enioy our fishings as Lords thereof, because they haue more skill to handle it then we; as they can our wooll, and vndressed cloth, notwithstanding all their wars and troublesome disorders.

To get mony to build this Nauy he saith, Who would not spare the hundred penny of his Rents, and the 500 penny of his goods; each seruant that taketh 33.s. 4.d. wages, 4 pence, and euery forrainer seuen yeares of age,
[p. 775.] 4. pence yearely for 7. yeares; not any of these but yearely they will spend 3 times so much in pride, wantonnesse or some superfluity. And doe any men loue the securitie of their estates, that are true subjects, [who] would not of themselves be humble su[i]ters to his Maiestie to do this of free will as a voluntary beneuolence, so it may be as honestly and truly imployed as it is proiected, the poorest mechanicke in this kingdome will gaine by it.

If this be too much, would the honorable Aduenturers be pleased to moue his Maiestie, that but the 200. penny of Rents, and the thousandth pen[n]y of Goodes might bee thus collected, to plant New *England*, and but the tenth fish there taken, leauing strangers as they are. You might build ships of any burden and numbers you please, fiue time cheaper then you can doe heere, and haue good merchandize for their fraught in this vnknowne land, to the aduancement of Gods glorie, his Church and Gospel, and the strengthening and reliefe of a great part of Christendome, without hurt to any: To the terror of Pirates, the amazement of enemies, the assistance of friends, the securing [of] mer-

chants, and so much increase of Nauigation, to make *Englands* Trade and Shipping as much as any Nation in the world, besides a hundred other benefits, to the generall good of all true subiects, and would cause thousands yet vnborne [to] blesse the time, and all them that first put it in practise. [1620] [p. 271.]

Now, lest it should be obscured, as it hath bene, to priuate ends, or so weakely vndertaken by our ouerweening incredulitie, that strangers may possesse it, whilst we contend for New *Englands* goods, but not *Englands* good; I present this vnto your Lordship, and to all the Lords in *England*, hoping (by your gracious good liking and approbation) to moue all the worthy Companies of this noble City, and all the cities and Countries in the whole Land to consider it, since I can find them wood and halfe victuall, with the aforesaid aduantages, with what facility they may build and maintaine this little Nauie Royall, both with honour, profite, and content, and inhabite as good a country as any in the world, within that parallel: which with my life and what I haue I will endeuour to effect, if God please, and you permit.

As for them whom pride or couetousnes lulleth asleepe in a Cradle of slouthfull carelesnesse; would they but consider how all the great Monarchies of the Earth haue bene brought to confusion: or but remember the late lamentable experience of *Constantinople*; and how many Cities, Townes, and Provinces in the faire rich kingdomes of *Hungaria*, *Transilvania*, and *Wallachi*[*a*]; and how many thousands of Princes, Earles, Barons, Knights, and Merchants, haue, in one day, lost goods, liues, and honours; or [been] solde for slaues like beasts in a market place; their wiues, children, and seruants slain, or wandering they knew not whither, dying, or liuing in all extremities of extreame miseries and calamities. Surely, they would not onely doe this, but giue all they haue to enioy peace and libertie at home; or but adventure their persons abroade, to preuent the conclusions of a conquering foe, who commonly assaulteth and best preuaileth where he findeth wealth and plentie (most armed) with ignorance and securitie. [p. 776.] [p. 272.]

Much more could I say, but lest I should be too tedious to your more serious affaires, I humbly craue your honor-

[1620] able and fauourable constructions and pardons if anything be amisse.

[*pp.* 278, 784.] If any desire to bee further satisfied, they may reade my *Description of Virginia* and *New England*, and peruse them with their seuerall Mappes: what defect you finde in them, they shall finde supplied in mee or in my Authors, that thus freely haue throwne my selfe with my Mite into the Treasury of my Countries good, not doubting but God wil stirre vp some noble spirits, to consider and examine if worthy *Collumbus* could giue the *Spaniards* such certainties for his dessigne, when Queene *Isabell* of *Spayne* set him forth with fifteene saile. And though I can promise no mines of gold, yet the warrelike *Hollanders* let vs immitate, but not hate; whose wealth and strength are good testimonies of their treasure gotten by fishing.

Therefore (honorable and worthy Countrymen) let not the meannesse of the word Fish distaste you, for it will afford as good gold as the mines of *Guiana* or *Tu*[*m*]*batu*, with lesse hazard and charge, and more certaintie and facilitie: and so I humbly rest.

FINIS.

NEW ENGLANDS TRIALS.

Declaring the successe of 80 Ships employed thither within these eight yeares; *and the benefit of that Countrey by Sea and Land.*

With the present estate of that happie Plantation, begun but by 60 weake men *in the yeare* 1620.

And how to build a Fleete of good Shippes *to make a little Nauie Royall.*

Written by Captain *Iohn Smith*, sometimes Gouernour of *Virginia*, and Admirall of *New England.*

The second Edition.

LONDON
Printed by WILLIAM IONES.
1622.

[It was not usual to register second and later editions of a Work at Stationers' Hall: therefore this impression does not appear in the *Registers* of the Company.

It was however written in October 1622, before the 16th of that month; as the allusion, at *p.* 264, to the intended departure of the *Paragon* with reinforcements for the Pilgrim Fathers, clearly shows.

WILLIAM HILTON's letter from New Plymouth, at *p.* 260, is the third earliest account in print, from that Colony; the two former ones, of this same year 1622, being

[R. CUSHMAN] *A Sermon preached at Plymouth &c.*
[G. MOURT?] *Relation or Iournal &c.*

See p. cxxxiii.

Though a very rare tract, this is not so very scarce as the earlier 1620 edition. If a guess might be hazarded as to the reason, it might have arisen that SMITH gave away so many copies of the first tract, in the year 1621, see *p.* 234; and that what had thus cost little, was little thought of, and therefore not preserved.

For the bibliography of this Tract, see *p.* cxxxi.]

TO THE MOST HIGH AND excellent Prince *Charles*, Prince of *VVales*; Duke of *Cornewall*, *Yorke*, and *Albanie*; Marquis of *Ormond*, and *Rothsey*; and Earle Palatine of *Chester*; Heire of *Great Britaine*, *France*, and *Ireland*, &c.

SIR,

WHen scarce any would beleeue mee there was any such matter, your Highnesse did not disdaine to accept my description, and called that *New England* [*pp.* 177, 232], whose barbarous names you changed for such English, that none can denie but Prince *Charles* is the Godfather. Whereby I am bound in all reason and dutie to giue you the best account I can how your child doth prosper: and although as yet it is not much vnlike the Father in fortune, onely vsed as an instrument for other mens ends; yet the grace you bestowed on it by your Princely fauour, hath drawn so many iudgments now to behold it, that I hope shall find, it will giue content to your Highnesse, satisfaction to them, and so increase the number of well-willers, [that] *New England* will be able to reiect her maligners, and attend Prince *Charles* with her dutifull obedience, with a trophie of honour, and a kingdome for a Prince. Therefore the great worke contained in this little booke, humbly desires your Princely patronage. [1622]

No more, but sacring all my best abilities to the exquisite iudgement of your renowmed vertues, I humbly kisse your gracious hands.

Your Highnesse true and
faithfull seruant,
Io. Smith.

TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE AND RIGHT WORTHY ADVENTURERS, to all Plantations and Discoueries, their friends and well-willers, especially of *Virginia* and *New England.*

* *
*

Right Ho.

[1622] *I Confesse it were more proper for me to be doing what I say, then writing what I know: but that it is not my fault, there is many a hundreth can testifie, if they please to remember what paines I haue taken both particularly and generally to make this worke knowne, and procure meanes to put it in practise. What calumniations, doubts, or other mispritions hath opposed my endeuors, I had rather forget then remember; but still to expresse my forwardnesse, to the consideration of your fauourable constructions I present this short discourse of the proceedings and present estate of* New England: *if you please to peruse it, and make vse of it, I am richly rewarded, though they be but the collections and obseruations of a plaine souldier, yet if you please to grace them with your countenance and good acceptance, I shall therein thinke my selfe happie, and hope that those labours may in time returne you such fruites as hereafter may perswade you to pardon this boldnesse, and accept them to be your honest seruants.*

Yours to command,

Io. Smith.

NEW ENGLANDS
Trials, and Present Estate.

[1577-1614]

CONcerning the description of this Country, six yeares ago [1616], I writ so largely, as in briefe I hope this may suffice you to remember, that *New England* is a part of *America*, betwixt the Degrees 41. and 45. the very meane betwixt the North Pole and the Line. [*pp.* 192, 237 706, 938.]

From 43. to 45. the coast is mountainous, rockie, barren, and broken Iles that make many good harbours. The water is deepe, close to the shore; there are many riuers and fresh springs: few Saluages, but an incredible abundance of fish, fowle, wilde fruits, and good timber.

From 43. to 41. and a half, an excellent mixed coast of stone, sand and clay, much corne, many people, some Iles, many good harbours, a temperate aire, and therein all things necessary for the building [of] ships of any proportion, and good merchandize for their fraught: within a square of 12 leagues, 25 harbours I sounded; 30 seuerall Lordships I saw, and so neare as I could imagine, 3000 men. I was vp one riuer fortie miles, crossed the mouths of many, whose heads are reported to be great lakes; where they kill their Beuers; inhabited with many people who trade with those of *New England*, and them of *Cannada*.

The benefit of fishing as Master Dee *reporteth in his Brittish Monarchie* [1577]. [*p.* 238.]

He saith that it is more then 44 yeares ago [*by* 1577], [*p.* 743.]

[1577–1620] and it is more then 40 yeares since he writ it [*i.e.*, *in* 1577], that the Herring Busses out of the Low-Countries, vnder the King of *Spaine*, were 500. besides 100 Frenchmen, and three or foure hundred saile of Flemmings.

The coasts of *Wales* and Lancashire was vsed by 300 saile of strangers.

Ireland at *Baltemore* fraughted yearely 300 saile of Spaniards; where King *Edward* the sixt intended to haue made a strong Castle, because of the strait, to haue tribute for fishing.

Blacke Rocke was yearely fished by three or foure hundred saile of Spaniards, Portugals, and Biskiners.

Master [*Tobias*] *Gentleman and many Fisher-men and Fish-mongers with whom I haue conferred, report,*

[*p.* 197.] The Hollanders raise yearely [*in* 1620 *see p.* 238] by Herring, Cod, and Ling, 3000000 pounds.

English and French by Salt-fish, poore Iohn, Salmons, and Pilchards, 300000 pounds.

[*p.* 744.] *Hambrough* and the Sound, for Sturgion, Lobsters, and Eeles, 100000 pounds.

Cape Blanke for Tunny and Mullit, by the Biskiners and Spaniards 30000 pounds.

But diuers other learned experienced Obseruers say, though it may seeme incredible.

That the Duke of *Medina* receiueth yearely tribute of the fishers for Tunny, Mullit, and Purgos, more then 10000 pounds.

Lubeck hath 700 ships: *Hambrough* 600: *Embden* [but] lately a fisher towne, 1400.: whose customes by the profit of fishing hath made them so powerfull as they be.

Holland and *Ze*[*a*]*land*, not much greater then *Yorkshire*, hath thirtie walled townes, 400 villages, and 20000 saile [*p.* 239.] of shippes and hoyes; 3600 [vessels] are fishermen, whereof 100 are Doggers, 700 Pinckes and Welbotes, 700 Frand botes, Britters and To[a]debotes, with 1300 Busses: besides three hundred that yearely fish about *Yarmouth*, where they sell their fish for gold; and fifteene yeares ago, [1605, *see p.* 239] they had more then 116000 sea-faring men.

These fishing ships do take yearely 200000 Last of fish, twelue barrels to a Last, which amounted to 3000000 pounds by the Fishermens price, that 14 yeares ago [1606, *see p.* 239] did pay for their tenths 300000 pound; which venting in *Pumerland, Sprussia, Denmarke, Lefland, Russia, Swethland, Germany, Netherlands, England*, or elsewhere, &c. make their returnes in a yeare about 7000000 pounds; and yet in *Holland* they haue neither matter to build ships, nor merchandize to set them foorth; yet by their industrie they as much increase, as other nations decay. [1620]

But leauing these vncertainties as they are, of this I am certaine,

That the coast of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, the North Sea, with *Ireland* and the Sound, New-found land and Cape Blanke, do serue all *Europe*, as well the land Townes as Ports, and all the Christian shipping, with these sorts of Staple fish which is transported, from whence it is taken, many a thousand mile, viz. [*p.* 745.]

Herring.
Salt-fish.
poore Iohn.
Sturgion.
Mullit.
Tunny.
Porgos.
Caviare.
Buttargo.

Now seeing all these sorts of fish, or the most part of them, may be had in a land more fertile, temperate, and plentifull of all necessaries for the building of ships, boats, and houses, and the nourishment of man; the seasons are so proper, and the fishings so neare the habitations we may there make, that *New England* hath much aduantage of the most of those parts, to serue all Europe farre cheaper then they can who at home haue neither wood, salt, nor food, but at great rates; at Sea nothing but what they carry in their ships, an hundred or two hundred leagues from their habitation.

But *New Englands* fishings is neare land, where is helpe of wood, water, fruites, fowles, corne, or other refreshings needfull; and the *Terceras, Mederas, Canaries, Spaine, Portugale, Prouance, Sauoy, Sicilia*, and all *Italy*, as conuenient markets for our dry Fish, greene Fish, Sturgion, Mullit, Cauiare, and Buttargo, as *Norway, Swethland, Littuania* or *Germany*, for their Herring, which is here also in abundance for taking; they returning but wood, pitch, [*pp.* 197, 240.]

[1614-5] tarre, soape-ashes, cordage, flaxe, waxe, and such like commodities: we, wines, oyles, sugars, silks, and such merchandize as the Straits [*i.e., of Gibraltar*] affoord, whereby our profit may equalize theirs; besides the increase of shipping and Mariners.

And for proofe hereof:

Proofe 1. 1614. [*pp.* 187, 240, 607, 891, 936.] *With two ships sent out at the charge of Captain* Marmaduke Roydon, *Captain* George Langam, Master Iohn Buley *and* W. Skelton, *I went from the Downes the third of March* [1614], *and ar*[*r*]*iued in New* England *the last of April, where I was to haue stayed but with ten men to keepe possession of those large territories, had the Whales proued, as curious information had assured me and my aduenture*[*r*]*s, (but those things failed.) So hauing but fortie fiue men and boyes, we built seuen boates: 37 did fish; my selfe with eight others ranging the coast. I tooke a plot of what I could see, got acquaintance of the inhabitants;* 1100 *Beuer skins,* 100 *Martins, and as many Otters.* 40000 *of drie fish we sent for* Spaine*: with the salt fish, traine oile, and Furres, I returned for* England, *the* 18 *of Iuly, and ar*[*r*]*iued safe with my company the latter end of August. Thus in six moneths I made my voyage out and home; and by the labour of* 45, *got neare the value of* 1500 *pounds in those grosse commodities.*

This yeare also one went from Plimmoth, *set out by diuers of the Isle of Wight and the West country, by the directions and instructions of Sir* Ferdinando Gorge, [*they*] *spent their victuals, and returned with nothing.*

Proofe 2. 1615. [*pp.* 219, 240 731, 733.] *The* Virginia *Company, vpon this, sent* 4 *good ships; and because I would not vndertake it for them, hauing ingaged my selfe to them of the West, the Londoners entertained*[engaged] *the men that came home with me. They set saile in Ianuary* [1615], *and arriued there in March; they found fish enough vntill halfe Iune, fraughted a ship of* 300 *Tuns,* [*which*] *went for* Spaine, *which was taken by the Turks; one went to* Virginia *to relieue that Colonie, and two came for* England *with greene fish, traine oile and Furres within six moneths.*

Proofe 3. 1615. [*pp.* 220, 240, 731.] *In Ianuary* [1615] *with* 200 *pounds in cash for aduenture, and six Gentlemen wel furnished, I went from* London *to the foure shippes* [*that*] *was promised, prepared for me in the West country; but I found no such matter: notwithstanding at the*

last with a labyrinth of trouble I went from Plimmoth *with a ship of* 200 *Tuns, and one of fiftie: when the fishing was done, onely with* 15 *I was to stay in the country.* [1615-7]

But ill weather breaking all my masts, I was forced to returne [*p.* 241.] *to* Plimmoth *; where rather then lose all, reimbarking myselfe in a Bark of* 60 *Tuns: how I escaped the English pyrates and the* [*p.* 937.] *French, and was betrayed by foure French men of warre, I referre you to the Description of* New England [*pp.* 217–227]: *but my Vice-Admirall, notwithstanding the latenesse of the yeare,* [*p.* 227.] *setting forth with me in March* [1615], *the Londoners in Ianuary, she ariued in May, they in March; yet come home well fraught in August, and all her men well, within* 5 *months, odde days.*

The Londoners ere I returned from France [Dec. 1615], Proofe 4. *for all their losse by the Turks, which was valued about* 4000 1616. *pounds, sent two more in Iuly* [1615]; *but such courses they* [*p.* 937.] *took by the* Canaries *to the West* Indies, *it was ten moneths ere they ariued in* New England [May 1616], *wasting in that time their seasons, victuall and healths, yet there they found meanes to refresh themselues: and the one returned, neare fraught with fish and traine, within* 2 *moneths after* [July 1616].

From Plimmoth *went* 4 *ships, onely to fish and trade, some* Proofe 5. *in Februarie, some in March; one of* 200 *Tuns got thither in a* 1616. *month, and went full fraught for* Spain ; *but the rest returned to* Plimmoth *well fraught, and their men well, within fiue moneths, odde dayes.*

From London *went two more: one of* 200 *Tuns, got thither* Proofe 6. *in six weeks, and within six weeks after with* 44 *men and* 1616. *boyes was full fraught, and returned again into* England *within fiue moneths and a few daies; the other went to the* Canaries *with drie fish, which they sold at a great rate, for Rials of* 8, *and as I heard turned pirats.*

I being at Plimmoth *prouided with* 3 *good ships, yet but* Proofe 7. *fifteene men to stay with me in the country, was Windbound* 1617. *three moneths, as was many a hundred saile more, so that the* [*p.* 940.] *season being past, the ships went for* Newfound land, *whereby my designe was frustrate: which was to me and my friends no* [*p.* 746.] *small losse, in regard whereof here the Westerne Commissioners, in the behalfe of themselues and the rest of the Companie, contracted with me by articles indented vnder our hands, to be Admirall of that Country during my life, and in the renewing of their Letters pattents so to be nominated, halfe the fruits of our*

[1617-9] *endeuours theirs, the rest our owne; being thus ingaged, now the businesse doth prosper, some of them would vvillingly forget me; but I am not the first they haue deceiued.*

Proofe 8. 1618. [p. 941.] *There vvas foure good ships prepared at* Plimmoth, *but by reason of their disagreement, the season so wasted, as onely* 2 *went forward, the one being of* 200 *Tuns, returned vvell fraught for* Plimmoth, *and her men in health, within fiue moneths; the other of* 80 *Tuns, went for* Bilbow *with drie fish, and made a good returne.*

[pp. 217, 223, 732, 736.] *In this voyage* Edward Rowcraft, *alias* Stallings, *a valiant souldier, that had bin vvith me in* Virginia, *and seuen yeares after vvent vvith me from* Plimoth *towards* New England, *with* Thomas Dirmer *an vnderstanding and an industrious Gentleman to inhabite it; all vvhose names vvith our proceedings you may reade at large in my description of* New England [p. 217], *vpon triall before the Iudge of the Admiraltie, how vvhen vve had past the vvorst, for pure cowardize the Maister and sailers ran away vvith the ship and all I had, and left me alone among* 8 *or* 9 *French men of Warre in the yeare* 1615. *This* Stallings *vvent now againe in those ships, and hauing some vvrong offered him in* New England *by a French man, he tooke him* [*i.e.*, his ship]; *and as he vvrit to me, he vvent vvith her to* Virginia *vvith fish, to trade vvith them for such commodities as they might spare; he knew both the countries vvell, yet he promised me the next Spring to meet me in* New England; *but the ship and he perished in* Virginia.

Proofe 9. 1619. [pp. 242, 747.] *This yeare againe, diuers ships intending to go from* Plimmoth, *so disagreed, as there vvent but one of* 200 *Tuns, vvho stayed in the country about* 6 *vveeks, vvith* 38 *men and boyes, had her fraught, vvhich she sold at the first penie, for* 2100 *pounds, besides the Furres; so that euery poore sailer that had but a single share, had his charges, and* 16*l.* 10*s. for his seuen moneths vvorke.*

[pp. 542, 747, 770.] Master Thomas Dirmer *hauing liued about a yeare in* New-found-land *returning to* Plimmoth, *vvent for* New England *in this ship, and not only confirmes vvhat I haue vvrit, but so much more approued of it, that he stayed there vvith fiue or six men in a little boate; finding* 2 *or* 3 *Frenchmen among the sauages, vvho had lost their ship,* [*they*] *augmented his companie, vvith vvhom he ranged the coast to* Virginia, *vvhere he vvas* ***kindly*** *vvelcomed, and vvell refreshed* [Nov. 1619]; *thence*

returned to New England *again, vvhere hauing bin a yeare, in his back-returne to* Virginia, *he vvas so vvounded by the sauages, he died vpon it, them* [*who*] *escaped vvere relieued at* Virginia. [1619-20]

Let not men attribute their great aduentures and vntimely deaths to vnfortunatenesse, but rather vvonder how God did so long preserue them, vvith so small meanes to do so much, leauing the fruits of their labours to be an encouragement to those our poore vndertakings; and this for aduantage as they vvrit vnto me, that God had laid this Country open for vs, and slaine the most part of the inhabitants by cruell vvarres, and a mortall disease; for vvhere I had seene 100 *or* 200 *people* [in 1614], *there is scarce ten to be found. From* Pembrocks *bay to* Harrintons *bay there is not* 20; *from thence to* Cape An, *some* 30; *from* Taulbuts *bay to the Riuer* Charles, *about* 40, *and not any of them touched vvith any sicknes but one poore Frenchman that died.*

For to make triall this yeare, there is gone 6 *or* 7 *saile from the West country, onely to fish: three of vvhom are returned, and as I vvas certainly informed, made so good a voyage, that euery sailer for a single share had* 20 *pounds for his* 7 *moneths vvork, vvhich is more then in* 20 *moneths he should haue gotten had he gone for vvages any vvhere.* Proofe 10. 1620. [*p.* 242.] [*pp.* 748, 9; 1.]

Now though all the former ships haue not made such good voyages as they expected, by sending opinionated vnskilfull men, that had not experienced diligence to saue that they tooke, nor take that there vvas; which now patience and practise hath brought to a reasonable kind of perfection: in despite of all detractors and calumniations, the Country yet hath satisfied all, the defect hath bin in their vsing or abusing it, not in it selfe nor me.

A plantation in New England.

Vpon these inducements some few well disposed Gentlemen and Merchants of *London* and other places prouided two ships, the one of 160 Tunnes, the other of 70; they left the coast of *England* the 23 of August, with about 120 persons: but the next day the lesser ship sprung a leake, that forced their returne to *Plimmoth*: where discharging Proofe 11. 1620. [*p.* 749.]

[1620-22] her and 20 passengers, with the great ship and a hundred persons besides sailers, they set saile againe the sixt of September, and the ninth of Nouember [1620] fell with *Cape Iames*; but being pestred nine weeks in this leaking vnwholsome ship, lying wet in their cabbins, most of them grew [*pp.* 749, 943.] very weake, and weary of the sea; then for want of experience ranging to and again, six weeks before they found a place they liked to dwell on, forced to lie on the bare ground without couerture in the extremitie of Winter; fortie of them died: and 60 were left in very weake estate at the ships coming away, about the fift of April [1621] following, and ariued in England the sixt of May [1621].

Proofe 12. 1620. [*p.* 757.] Immediately after her ariuall, from London they sent another of 55 Tunnes to supply them, with 37 persons. They set saile in the beginning of Iuly [1621], but being crossed by Westerly winds, it was the end of August ere they could passe *Plimmoth*, and ariued at *New Plimmoth*, in *New England* the eleuenth of Nouember [1621], where they found all the people they left in April, as is said, lustie and in good health, except six that died.

Within a moneth they returned here for *England*, laded with clapboord, wainscot and walnut; with about three hogsheads of Beuer skins and some Saxefras, the 13 of December [1621]; and drawing neare our coast, was taken by a Frenchman, set out by the Marquis of *Cera* Gouernour of Ile *D*[*i*]*eu* on the coast of *Poytou*: where they kept the ship, imprisoned the Master and companie, took from them to the value of about 500 pounds; and after 14 days sent them home with a poore supply of victuall, their owne being deuoured by the Marquis and his hungry seruants. They ariued at London the 14 of Februarie [1622], leauing all them they found and caried to *New England* well and in health, with victuall and corne sufficient till the next haruest.

The copie of [a] Letter sent by this ship.

A Letter from New Plimmoth.

Louing cousin, at our ar[*r*]*iuall at* New Plimmoth *in* New England, *we found all our friends and planters in good health, though they were left sicke and weake with very small meanes, the Indians round about vs peaceable and friendly*

the country very pleasant and temperate, yielding naturally of [1621-22]
it self great store of fruites, as vines of diuers sorts in great abundance. There is likewise walnuts, chesnuts, small nuts and plums, with much varietie of flowers, rootes, and herbs, no lesse pleasant then wholsome and profitable: no place hath more goose-berries and straw-berries, nor better. Timber of all [*the*] *sorts you haue in* England, *doth couer the Land, that affoords beasts of diuers sorts, and great flocks of Turkies, Quailes, Pigeons, and Partriges: many great lakes abounding with fish, fowle, Beuers, and Otters. The sea affoords vs as great plenty of all excellent sorts of sea-fish, as the riuers and Iles doth varietie of wilde fowle of most vsefull sorts. Mines we find to our thinking, but neither the goodnesse nor qualitie we know. Better grain cannot be then the Indian corne, if we will plant it vpon as good ground as a man need desire. We are all free-holders, the rent day doth not trouble vs; and all those good blessings we haue, of which and what we list in their seasons for taking. Our companie are for most part very religious honest people; the word of God sincerely taught vs euery Sabbath: so that I know not any thing a contented mind can here want. I desire your friendly care to send my wife and children to me, where I wish all the friends I haue in England, and so I rest*

Your louing kinsman
William Hilton.

[The probable date of this letter is about 13 Dec. 1621.]

From the West country, went ten or twelue ships to fish, Proofe 13. 1621. [*p.* 760.]
which were all well fraughted; those that came first at Bilbow *made* 17 *pounds a single share, besides Beuer, Otters and Martins skins: but some of the rest that came to the same ports that were already furnished, so glutted the market, their price was abated; yet all returned so well contented, they are a preparing to go againe.*

There is gone from the West of England *onely to fish* 35 For this yeare 1622.
ships, and about the last of April [1622] *two more from* London, [*pp.*760,941]
the one of 100 *Tuns, the other of* 30, *with some* 60 *passengers to supply the plantation* [of T. Weston] *with all necessary prouisions.*

Now though the Turke and French hath bin somewhat too busie, would all the Christian princes but be truly at vnitie, as his royal Maiestie our Soueraigne Lord and King desireth, 70 *saile of good ships were sufficient to fire the most of his coasts*

[1622] *in the* Leuant, *and make such a guard in the straits of* Hellespont, *as would make the great Turke himselfe more afraid in* Constantinople, *then the smallest red crosse,* [*that*] *crosses the seas, would be, either of any* French Piccaroun, *or the pirats of* Argere.

An abstract of Letters sent from the Collony in New England, July 16, 1622.

Since the newes of the massacre in Virginia [22 Mar. 1622], *though the Indians continue their wonted friendship, yet are we more wary of them then before; for their hands hath bin embrued in much English blood, onely by too much confidence, but not by force.*

[*p.* 248.] Here I must intreate a little your fauours to digresse. They did not kill the English because they were Christians, but for their weapons and commodities, that were rare nouelties; but now they feare we may beate them out of their dens, which Lions and Tygers would not admit but by force. But must this be an argument for an English man, or discourage any either in *Virginia* or *New England*? No: for I haue tried them both.

For *Virginia*, I kept that country with 38, and had not to eate but what we had from the sauages. When I had ten men able to go abroad, our common wealth was very strong: with such a number I ranged that vnknown country 14 weeks; I had but 18 to subdue them all, with which great army I stayed six weekes before their greatest Kings habitations, till they had gathered together all the power they could; and yet the Dutch-men sent at a needlesse excessiue charge did helpe *Powhatan* how to betray me.

Of their numbers we were vncertaine; but them two honorable Gentlemen (Captaine *George Percie* and Captaine *Francis West*, two of the *Phittiplaces*, and some other such noble gentlemen and resolute spirits bore their shares with me, and now liuing in *England*) did see me take this murdering *Opechankanough* now their great King by the long locke on his head; with my pistole at his breast, I led him among his greatest forces, and before we parted

made him fill our Bark of twenty Tuns with corne. [1622]
When their owne wants was such, I haue giuen them part againe in pittie, and others haue bought it againe to plant their fields.

For wronging a souldier but the value of a peny, I haue caused *Powhatam* send his owne men to *Iames* Towne to receiue their punishment at my discretion. It is true in our greatest extremitie they shot me, slue three of my men, and by the folly of them that fled tooke me prisoner; yet God made *Pocahontas* the Kings daughter the meanes to deliuer me: and thereby taught me to know their trecheries to preserue the rest.

It was also my chance in single combat to take the King of *Paspahegh* prisoner: and by keeping him, forced his subiects to worke in chaines till I made all the country pay contribution; hauing little else whereon to liue.

Twise in this time I was their President, and none can say in all that time I had a man slaine: but for keeping them in that feare I was much blamed both there and here: yet I left 500 behind me that, through their confidence, in six months came most to confusion, as you may reade at large in the description of *Virginia* [*pp.* 170, 498].

When I went first to these desperate designes, it cost me many a forgotten pound to hire men to go; and procrastination caused more [to] run away then went. But after the ice was broken, came many braue voluntaries: notwithstanding [*p.* 761.] since I came from thence, the honorable Company haue bin humble suiters to his Maiestie to get vagabonds and condemned men to go thither; nay so much scorned was the name of *Virginia*, some did chuse to be hanged ere they would go thither, and were: yet for all the worst of spite, detraction, and discouragement, and this lamentable massacre, there is more honest men now su[i]ters to go, then euer hath bin constrained knaues; and it is not vnknown to most men of vnderstanding, how happie many of those Collumners doe thinke themselues, that they might be admitted, and yet pay for their passage to go now to *Virginia*: and had I but meanes to transport as many as would go, I might haue choise of 10000 that would gladly be in any of those new places, which were so basely contemned by vngrateful base minds.

[1622] To range this countrey of *New England* in like maner
[*p.* 761.] I had but eight, as is said, and amongst their bruite conditions I met many of their silly incounters, and without any hurt, God be thanked; when your West country men were many of them wounded and much tormented with the sauages that assaulted their ship, as they did say themselues, in the first yeare I was there 1614; and though Master *Hunt*, then Master with me, did most basely
[*pp.* 698, 701, 720, 732.] in stealing some sauages from that coast to sel, when he was directed to haue gone for Spaine: yet that place [*Patuxet, afterwards called New Plymouth, p.* 754] was so remote from *Capawuck*, where *Epenew* should haue fraughted them with gold ore, his fault could be no cause of their bad successe, howeuer it is alledged for an excuse. I speake not this out of vainglory, as it may be some gleaners, or some [that] was neuer there may censure me: but to let all men be assured by those examples, what those sauages are, that thus strangely doe murder and betray our countrey men. But to the purpose.

What is already writ of the healthfulnesse of the aire, the richnesse of the soile, the goodnes of the woods, the abundance of fruits, fish, and fowle in their season, they stil affirm that haue bin there [at New Plymouth] *now neare 2 yeares, and at one draught they haue taken* 1000 *basses, and in one night twelue hogsheads of herring. They are building a strong fort,* [*which*] *they hope shortly to finish, in the interim they are wel prouided: their number is about a hundred persons, all in health, and well neare* 60 *acres of ground well planted with corne, besides their gardens well replenished with vseful fruits; and if their Aduenture*[*r*]*s would but furnish them with necessaries for fishing, their wants would quickly be supplied.*

To supply them this 16 *of October* [This fixes the month in
[*pp.* 766, 767, 941.] which this Second Edition was written] *is going the* Paragon *with* 67 *persons, and all this is done by priuat mens purses. And to conclude in their owne words, should they write of all plenties they haue found, they thinke they should not be beleeued.*

For the 26 *saile of ships, the most I can yet vnderstand is,* Master Ambrose Iennens *of* London, *and* Master Abraham

Iennens *of* Plimmoth *sent* (*their* Abraham) *a ship of* 220 *Tuns, and the* Nightingale *of* Porchmouth *of* 100.*; whose fish at the first penie came to* 3150 *pounds*: *in all they were* 35 *saile*: *and where in* Newfound land *they shared six or seuen pounds for a common man, in* New England *they shared* 14 *pounds; besides, six Dutch and French ships made wonderfull returnes in furres.* [1622] 1622.

Thus you may see plainely the yearely successe from *New England* (by *Virginia*) which has bin so costly to this kingdome and so deare to me, which either to see perish or but bleed, pardon me though it passionate me beyond the bounds of modestie, to haue bin sufficiently able to foresee it, and had neither power nor meanes how to preuent it. By that acquaintance I haue with them, I may call them my children; for they haue bin my wife, my hawks, my hounds, my cards, my dice, and in totall my best content, as indifferent to my heart as my left hand to my right: and notwithstanding all those miracles of disasters [that] haue crossed both them and me, yet were there not one English man remaining (as God be thanked there is some thousands) I would yet begin againe with as small meanes as I did at the first. Not for that I haue any secret encouragement from any I protest, more then lamentable experiences: for all their discoueries I can yet heare of, are but pigs of my owne sowe; nor more strange to me then to heare one tell me he hath gone from *Billings* gate and discouered *Greenwich, Grauesend, Tilbery, Quinborow, Lee, and Margit*; which to those [who] did neuer heare of them, though they dwell in *England*, might be made seem some rare secrets and great countries vnknowne: except the relations of Master *Dirmer*. [*f.* 769.] [*f.* 770.] [*ff.* 217, 258, 542, 732, 747, 770.]

In *England* some are held great trauelers that haue seene *Venice* and *Rome, Madrill* and *Algere, Prague* or *Ragousa, Constantinople* or *Ierusalem*, and the Piramides of Egypt; that thinke it nothing to go to the *Summer Iles* or *Virginia*: which is as farre as any of them, and I hope in time will proue a more profitable and a more laudable iourney. As for the danger, you see our Ladies and Gentlewomen account it nothing now to go thither; and therefore I hope all good men will better apprehend it, and

[1622] not suffer them to languish in despaire, whom God so wonderfully and so oft hath preserued.

What here I haue writ by relation, if it be not right, I humbly intreate your pardons; but I haue not spared any diligence to learne the truth of them that haue bin actors or sharers in those voyages: in some particulars they might deceiue me, but in the substances they could not, for few could tell me any thing, except where they fished. But seeing all those [that] haue liued there, do confirme more then I haue writ, I doubt not but all those testimonies [*p.* 771.] with these new begun examples of plantation, will moue [*pp.* 242, 746, 941.] both Citie and Country freely to aduenture with me and my partners more then promises, seeing I haue from his Maiestie Letters Pattents, such honest, free, and large conditions assured me from his Commissioners, as I hope will satisfie any honest vnderstanding.

But because some fortune tellers saith, I am vnfortunate, had they spent their time as I haue done, they would rather beleeue in God then their calculations, and peraduenture haue giuen as bad account of their actions; and therefore I intreat leaue to answer those objectors, that think it strange if this be true, I haue made no more vse of it, rests so long without emploiment, and hath no more reward nor preferment: to which I say:

[*p.* 242.] I thinke it more strange they should taxe me before they haue tried as much as I haue both by land and sea, as well in *Asia* and *Africa*, as *Europe* and *America*; where my commanders were actors or spectators, they alwaies so freely rewarded me, I neuer needed to importunate, n[or] could I euer learne to beg: what there I got, I haue thus spent:

These sixteen yeares [1606–1622] I haue spared neither paines nor money according to my abilitie, first to procure his Maiesties Letters pattents, and a Company here to be the means to raise a company to go with me to *Virginia*, as is said: which beginning here and there cost me neare 5 yeares [1604–1609] worke, and more then 500 pounds of my owne [*p.* 243.] estate, besides all the dangers, miseries, and incumbrances I endured gratis: where I stayed till I left 500 better prouided then euer I was; from which blessed Virgin (ere I returned) sprung the fortunate habitation of *Somer Iles*.

This Virgins sister, now called *New England, an.* 1616. [1622]
at my humble suit by our most gracious Prince *Charles*,
hath bin neare as chargeable to me and my friends: for all [pp. 746, 748.]
which I neuer got shilling, but it cost me many a pound,
yet I thinke my selfe happie to see their prosperities.

If it yet trouble a multitude to proceed vpon these certainties, what think you I vndertook when nothing was knowne, but that there was a vast land. I neuer had power and meanes to do any thing, though more hath bin spent in formall delayes then would haue done the businesse; but in such a penurious and miserable manner as if I had gone a begging to build an Vniuersitie: where had men bin as forward to aduenture their purses and performe the conditions they promised me, as to crop the fruites of my labours, thousands ere this had bin bettered by these designes. Thus betwixt the spur of Desire and the bridle of Reason I am neare ridden to death in a ring of despaire; the raines are in your hands, therefore I intreate you to ease me: and those that think I am either idle or vnfortunate, may see the cause and know: vnlesse I did see better dealing, I haue had warning enough, not to be so forward again at euery [p. 772.]
motion vpon their promises, vnlesse I intended nothing but to carry newes. For now they dare aduenture a ship, that when I went first, would not aduenture a groate, so they may be at home againe by Michaelmas: which makes me remember Master *Hacklu[y]ts*; oh incredulitie! the wit of fooles, that slouenly do spit at all things faire; a sluggards cradle, a cowards costle, how easie it is to be an infidell. But to the purpose.

By this all men may perceiue the ordinary performance of this voyage in fiue or six moneths, the plenty of fish is most certainly approued: and it is certain, from *Cannada* and *New England* within these six yeares [1615–1620] hath come neare 20000 Beuer skins. Now had each of those ships transported but some small quantitie of the most increasing beasts, fowles, plants, and seeds, as I proiected; by this time their increase might haue bin sufficient for a thousand men. But the desire of present gain (in many) is so violent, and the endeuors of many vndertakers so negligent, euery one so regarding their priuate gaine, that [p. 244.]

[1622] it is hard to effect any publick good, and impossible to bring them into a body, rule, or order, vnlesse both authoritie and mony assist experiences. It is not a worke [*pp.* 191, 268, 705, 964.] for euery one to plant a Colonie; but when a house is built, it is no hard matter to dwell in it. This requireth all the best parts of art, iudgement, courage, honestie, constancie, diligence, and experience to do but neare well: your home bred ingrossing proiectors shall finde there [is] a great difference betwixt saying and doing.

But to conclude, the fishing wil go forward if you plant it or no; whereby a Colonie may be transported with no great charge, that in a short time might prouide such fraughts to buy of vs there dwelling, as I would hope no ship should go or come empty from *New England.*

The charge of this is onely salt, nets, hookes, lines, kniues, Irish rugs, course cloth, beades, glasse, and such trash, onely for fishing and trade with the sauages, beside our owne necessary prouisions, whose endeuours wil quickly defray all this charge; and the sauages haue intreated me to inhabite where I will.

[*p.* 773.] Now all these ships, till this last yeare [1621], haue bin fished [*fishing*] within a square of two or 3 leagues, and not one of them all would aduenture any further: where questionlesse 500 saile may haue their fraught better then in *Island*, *Newfoundland*, or else where, and be in their markets before the other can haue their fish in their ships, because *New Englands* fishing begins with February, the other not till mid May; the progression hereof tends much to the aduancement of *Virginia* and the *Bermudas*, whose emptie ships may take in their fraught there, and would be a good friend in time of need to the inhabitants of *New foundland.*

[*p.* 801.] The returnes made by the Westerne ships, are commonly deuided into three parts, one for the owner of the ship, another for the Master and his companie, the third for the victuallers: which course being still permitted, wil be no hindrance to the plantation, go there neuer so many, but a meanes of transporting that yearly for little or nothing, which otherwise will cost many a hundred of pounds.

If a ship can gaine twentie, thirtie, fiftie in the 100, nay 300 for 100. in 7 moneths, as you see they haue done; spending twise so much time in going and coming as in

staying there: were I there planted, seeing the varietie [1622]
of the fishings in their seasons serueth the most part of [p. 245.]
the yeare, and with a little labour we might make all the salt we need vse. I can conceiue no reason to distrust, but the doubling and trebling their gaines that are at all the former charge, and can fish but two moneths in a yeare: and if those do giue 20. 30. or 40. Shillings for an acre of land, or ship carpenters, forgers of iron, &c, that buy all things at a deare rate, grow rich; when they may haue as good of all needful necessaries for taking (in my opinion) should not grow poore, and no commodity in *Europe* doth more decay then wood.

Master *Dee* recordeth in his *Brittish Monarchie* [1577], that King *Edgar* had a nauie of 4000 saile, with which he yearely made his progresse about his famous Monarchie of *Great Brittaine*, largely declaring the benefit thereof: whereupon it seemes he proiected to our most memorable Queene *Elizabeth*, the erecting of a Fleete of 60 saile, he called a little Nauie Royall; imitating the admired *Pericles* [p. 774.]
Prince of *Athens*, that could neuer secure that tormented estate, vntill he was Lord and Captain of the Sea.

At this none need wonder; for who knowes not, her Royall Maiestie during her life, by the incredible aduentures of her Royall Nauy, and valiant souldiers and sea-men, notwithstanding all trecheries at home, the protecting and defending [of] *France* and *Holland*, and reconquering *Ireland*, yet all the world by sea or land both feared, loued, and admired good Queen *Elizabeth*.

Both to maintaine and increase that incomparable honour (God be thanked) to her incomparable Successour, our most Royall Lord and Soueraigne King *Iames*, &c. this great Philosopher hath left this to his Maiestie and his kingdomes consideration:

That if the Tenths of the Earth be proper to God, it is also due by Sea: the Kings high wayes are common to passe, but not to dig for Mines or any thing: so *Englands* coasts are free to passe, but not to fish but by his Maiesties prerogatiue.

His Maiesty of *Spaine* permits none to passe the Popes order for the East and West *Indies*, but by his permission, [p. 246.]

[1622] or at their perils. If all that world be so iustly theirs, it is no iniustice for *England* to make as much vse of her own shores as strangers do, that pay to their own Lord, the tenth, and not to the owner of those liberties any thing to speake of; whose subiects may neither take nor sell any in their territories: which small tribute would maintain this little Nauie Royall, and not cost his Maiestie a penny; and yet maintaine peace with all forreiners, and allow them more courtesie, then any nation in the world affoords to *England.*

It were a shame to alleage, that *Holland* is more worthy to enioy our fishings as Lords thereof, because they haue more skill to handle it then we, as they can our wooll and vndressed cloth, notwithstanding all their wars and troublesome disorders.

To get mony to build this Nauy, he saith, who would not spare the 100 peny of his Rents, and the 500 peny of his goods; each seruant that taketh 40. s. wages 4. d.; and euery forreiner of 7 yeares of age 4.d. for 7 yeares;
[*p.* 775.] not any of these but they will spend 3 times so much in pride, wantonnesse, or some superfluitie. And do any men loue the securitie of their estates, that of themselues would not be humble su[i]ters to his Maiestie to do this of free will as a voluntary beneuolence, or but one halfe of this, (or some such other course as I haue propounded to diuers of the Companies) free from any constraint, taxe, lottery, or imposition, so it may be as honestly and truly employed as it is proiected, the poorest mechanick in this kingdom would gaine by it.

You might build ships of any proportion and numbers you please, fiue times cheaper then you can do here, and haue good merchandize for their fraught in this vnknowne land, to the aduancement of Gods glorie, his Church and Gospel, and the strengthening and reliefe of a great part of Christendome, without hurt to any; to the terror of pyrats, the amazement of enemies, the assistance of friends, the
[*p.* 247.] securing of Merchants, and so much increase of Nauigation to make *Englands* trade and shipping as much as any nation in the world, besides a hundred other benefits, to the generall good of all good subiects, and would cause

thousands yet vnborn [to] blesse the time and all them that first put it in practise. [1622]

Now lest it should be obscured as it hath bin to priuate ends, or so weakly vndertaken by our ouerweening incredulitie, that strangers may possesse it, whilest we contend for *New Englands* good[s], but not *Englands* good; I present this to your Highnes and to all the Lords in *England*, hoping by your gracious good liking and approbation to moue all the worthy Companies of this noble Citie, and all the Cities and Countries in the whole Land to consider of it, since I can finde them wood and halfe victuall, with the aforesaid aduantages, with what facilitie they may build and maintaine this little Nauie Royall, both with honour, profit, and content, and inhabite as good a country as any in the world, within that parallel: which with my life and what I haue I wil endeuour to effect, if God please, and you permit.

But no man wil go from hence, to haue lesse freedome there then here; nor aduenture all they haue, to prepare the way for them that know it not: and it is too well knowne there hath bin so many vndertakers of Patents and such sharing of them, as hath bred no lesse discouragement then wonder, to heare such great promises and so little performances. In the interim, you see the *Dutch* and *French* already frequent it: and God forbid them in *Virginia* or any of his Maiesties subiects should not haue as free libertie as they. To conclude, were it not for Master *Pierce* and a few priuate Aduenturers with him [*i.e.*, *the Pilgrim Fathers*], what haue we there for all these inducements? [*p.* 776.]

This yeare [1622] 3 ships went from London, set out by Maister *John Farar* and his partners. *The Bona noua* 200 *tunns. The Hopwell* 70. *The Darling* 40.

As for them, whom pride or couetousnes lulleth asleep in a cradle of slothfull carelesnes, would they but consider how all the great Monarchies of the earth haue bin brought to confusion; or but remember the late lamentable experience of *Constantinople*; and how many Cities, Townes, and Prouinces in the faire rich kingdoms of *Hungaria, Transiluania, Wallachia* and *Moldauia*; and how many thousands of Princes, Earles, Barons, Knights, Merchants, and others, haue in one day lost goods, liues, and honors, or sold for slaues like beasts in a market place; their wiues, children, and seruants slaine or wandring they knew not whither, dying, or liuing in all extremities of

[1622] extreame miseries and calamities. Surely they would not onely do this, but giue all they haue to enioy peace and libertie at home; or but aduenture their persons abroad, to preuent the conclusions of a conquering foe, who commonly assaulteth and best preuaileth where he findeth wealth and plentie (most armed) with ignorance and securitie.

Though the true condition of war is onely to suppresse the proud, and defend the innocent and humble, as did that most generous Prince *Sigismundus Bathor* Prince of those countries, against them, whom vnder the colour of iustice and pietie, to maintaine their superfluitie of ambitious pride, thought all the world too little to maintaine their vice, and vndoe them, or keepe them from abilitie to do anything that would not admire and adore their honors, fortunes, couetousnes, falshood, bribery, crueltie, extortion, and ingratitude, which is worse then cowardize or ignorance, and all maner of vildnesse, cleane contrary to all honour, vertue, and noblenesse.

Much more could I say, but lest I should be too tedious to your more serious affaires, I humbly craue your honour-
[*p.* 248.] able and fauourable constructions and pardons if any thing be amisse.

[*p.* 784.] If any desire to be further satisfied, they may reade my *Description of Virginia* and *New England*, and peruse them with their seuerall Maps: what defect you finde in them, they shall find supplied in me or my authors, that thus freely hath throwne my selfe with my mite into the Treasury of my Countries good, not doubting but God will stir vp some noble spirits to consider and examine if worthy *Collumbus* could giue the *Spaniards* any such certainties for his designe, when Queene *Isabel* of *Spaine* set him foorth with fifteene saile. And though I can promise no Mines of gold, yet the warlike *Hollanders* let vs imitate, but not hate: whose wealth and strength are good testimonies of their treasure gotten by fishing.

Therefore (honorable and worthy Countrymen) let not the meannesse of the word *Fish* distaste you, for it will afford as good gold as the mines of *Guiana* or *Tumbatu*, with lesse hazard and charge, and more certaintie and facilitie; and so I humbly rest.

FINIS.

THE GENERALL HISTORIE

OF

VIRGINIA, NEW ENGLAND

AND

THE SUMMER ISLES

IN SIX BOOKS

It will be seen from *p.* cxxv, that this *General History* was projected as early as 12 April 1621 ; or within four months of the publication of the first edition of *New Englands Trials* in 1620. The earlier portion of it, as the passage at *p.* 331 shews, was evidently compiled by 1622.

It is clear from the *Prospectus*, the material part of which is printed at *p.* cxxv, that our Author had worked out the general scheme of the *General History*, and was ready to go to press with the bulk of it, in 1623 ; which, according to the popular way of reckoning, would mean any time between 25 March 1623 and 24 March 1624. At that time however he only contemplated three maps at a cost of £100 [= £300 now], and not the six that actually appeared in the book.

Our Author tells the Duchess of RICHMOND, at *p.* 277 :

"If therefore your *Grace* shall daigne to cast your eye on this poore Booke, view I pray you rather your own *Bountie* (without which it had dyed in the wombe)." It is clear therefore that the Duchess contributed liberally, in answer to our Author's *Prospectus*.

He thus refers to the *General History*, at *p.* 622 :

"Thus far I haue trauelled in this Wildernesse of *Virginia*, not being ignorant [that] for all my paines, this discourse will be wrested, tossed and turned as many waies as there is leaues [*The first four Books of this* General History, *occupy* 84 *leaves*] ; that I haue writ too much of some, too little of others, and many such like obiections.

"To such I must answer, in the Companies name I was requested to doe it, if any haue concealed their approued experiences from my knowledge, they must excuse me : as for euery fatherles or stolne relation, or whole volumes of sofisticated rehearsals, I leaue them to the charge of them that desire them. I thanke God I neuer vndertooke any thing yet [wherein] any could tax me of carelesnesse or dishonesty, and what is hee to whom I am indebted or troublesome?"

It was probably eventually hurried through the press to counteract the disastrous effect of the bankruptcy, and dissolution in June 1624, of the London Virginia Company : being thus entered for publication at Stationers' Hall :

12° Julij 1624

Michael Sparkes Entred for his Copie vnder the handes of master Doctor GOAD and master **Lownes** warden *The History of Virginia The Summer Ilands and newe England* by JOHN SMITH. . . vjd.

A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London 1554–1640 *A.D.*, Ed. by E. ARBER, iv. 121, 1877.

For the bibliography of this work, see *p.* cxxxi.

It is constantly said that Sheet O, being pages **97** to **104**, see *pp.* 494, 497, was suppressed in all copies. The fact is, as Mr. HENRY STEVENS, F.S.A., has pointed out with his usual wonderful acuteness in bibliographical matters, they were never printed. See further on this point, as proved by the variations in the style of printing, at *p.* 490.

For the inserted Sectional Title pages, see *pp.* 301, 341, 383, 489, 495, 623, and 693.

TO
THE ILLVSTRIOVS
AND MOST NOBLE
PRINCESSE, the Lady FRANCIS, Duchesse of RICHMOND and LENOX.

May it please your Grace, [1624]

This History, as for the raritie and varietie of the subiect, so much more for the judicious *Eyes* it is like to vndergoe, and most of all for that great *Name*, whereof it dareth implore Protection, might and ought to haue beene clad in better robes then my rude military hand can cut out in Paper Ornaments. But because, of the most things therein, I am no Compiler by hearsay, but haue beene a reall Actor; I take my selfe to haue a propertie in them: and therefore haue beene bold to challenge them to come vnder the reach of my owne rough Pen. That, which hath beene

[1624] indured and passed through with hardship and danger, is thereby sweetned to the *Actor*, when he becometh the *Relator*. I haue deeply hazarded my selfe in doing and suffering, and why should I sticke to hazard my reputation in Recording? He that acteth two parts is the more borne withall if he come short, or fayle in one of them. Where shall we looke to finde a *Iulius Cæsar*, whose atchieu[e]ments shine as cleare in his owne Commentaries, as they did in the field? I confesse, my hand, though able to weild a weapon among the Barbarous, yet well may tremble in handling a Pen among so many *Iudicious*: especially when I am so bold as to call so piercing, and so glorious an *Eye*, as your *Grace*, to view these poore ragged lines.

Yet my comfort is, that heretofore honorable and vertuous *Ladies*, and comparable but amongst themselues, haue offred me rescue and protection in my greatest dangers: even in forraine parts, I haue felt reliefe from that sex. The beauteous Lady [*pp.* 853, 866.] *Tragabigzanda*, when I was a slaue to the *Turkes*, did all she could to secure me. When I overcame the *Bashaw* of *Nalbrits* in *Tartaria*, the charitable [*p.* 867.] Lady *Callamata* supplyed my necessities. In the [*pp.* cxv, 400, 401, 455.] vtmost of many extremities, that blessed *Pokahontas*, the great Kings daughter of *Virginia*, oft saved my life. When I escaped the crueltie of Pirats and most furious stormes, a long time alone in a small

Boat at Sea, and driven ashore in *France*, the good Lady *Madam Chanoyes*, bountifully assisted me. [1624] [*pp.* 226, 739.]

And so verily these my adventures haue tasted the same *influence* from your *Gratious hand*, which hath given birth to the publication of this *Narration*. If therefore your *Grace* shall daigne to cast your eye on this poore Booke, view I pray you rather your owne *Bountie* (without which it had dyed in the wombe) then my *imperfections*, which haue no helpe but the shrine of your *glorious Name* to be sheltered from censorious condemnation. Vouchsafe some glimpse of your honorable *aspect*, to accept these my labours; to protect them vnder the shadow of your excellent *Name*: which will inable them to be presented to the *Kings royall Maiestie*, the most admired Prince *Charles*, and the *Queene of Bohemia*: your sweet Recommendations will make it the worthier of their good countenances. And as all my endevours are their due tribute: so this Page shall record to posteritie, that my service shall be to pray to *God*, that you may still continue the renowned of your sexe, the most honored of men, and the highly blessed of *God*.

Your Graces *faithfull*
and devoted servant,
IOHN SMITH.

¶ A Preface of foure Poynts.

[1624]

I. *His plaine History humbly sheweth the truth; that our most royall King* Iames *hath place and opportunitie to inlarge his ancient* Dominions *without wronging any; (which is a condition most agreeable to his most iust and pious resolutions:) and the Prince his* Highness *may see where to plant new Colonies. The gaining Prouinces addeth to the Kings Crown: but the reducing Heathen people to ciuilitie and true Religion, bringeth honour to the King of Heauen. If his Princely wisedome and powerfull hand, renowned through the world for admirable government, please but to set these new Estates into order; their composure will be singular: the counsell of divers is confused; the generall Stocke is consumed; nothing but the touch of the Kings sacred hand can erect a Monarchy.*

II. *Most noble Lords and worthy Gentlemen, it is your* Honors *that haue imployed great paines and large expence in laying the foundation of this State, wherein much hath beene buried vnder ground, yet some thing hath sprung vp, and giuen you a taste of your aduentures. Let no difficulties alter your noble intentions. The action is an honour to your Country: and the issue may well reimburse you your summes expended. Our practices haue hitherto beene but assayes, and are still to*

be amended. Let your bountie supply the necessities of weake beginnings, and your excellent iudgements rectifie the proceedings; the returne cannot choose in the end but bring you good Commodities, and good contentments, by your aduancing shipping and fishing so vsefull vnto our Nation. [1624]

III. *Yee valiant and generous spirits, personall possessors of these new-found Territories, banish from among you Cowardise, covetousnes, iealousies, and idlenes, enemies to the raising your honours and fortunes; vertue, industry, and amitie, will make you good and great, and your merits liue to ensuing Ages. You that in contempt of necessities, hazard your liues and estates, imploying your studies and labours in these faire endevours, liue and prosper as I desire my soule should prosper.*

IIII. *For my selfe let emulation and enuie cease, I ever intended my actions should be vpright: now my care hath beene that my Relations should giue every man they concerne, their due. But had I not discovered and liued in the most of those parts, I could not possibly haue collected the substantiall truth from such a number of variable Relations, that would haue made a Volume at least of a thousand sheets* [=4,000 folio pages]. *Though the beginning may seeme harsh in regard of the Antiquities, breuitie, and names; a pleasanter Discourse ensues. The stile of a Souldier is not eloquent, but honest and iustifiable; so I desire all my friends and well-wishers to excuse and accept it; and if any be so noble as to respect it, he that brought* New England *to light, though long since brought in obscuritie, he is againe to be found a true servant to all good designes.*

So I ever rest yours to command,

IOHN SMITH.

A Gentleman desirous to be vnknowne, yet a great Benefactor to *Virginia*, his loue to the Author, the Company, and History.

[1624]

Stay, reade, behold, skill, covrage, knowledge, Arts;
Wonder of Nature: Mirror *of our Clime.*
Mars, Vulcan, Neptune *striue to haue their parts,*
Rare Ornaments, rich honours of our time.

From far fetcht Indies, *and* Virginia's *soyle,*
Here Smith *is come to shew his Art and skill:*
He was the Smith *that hammered famins foyle,*
And on Powhatan's *Emperour had his will.*

Though first Columbus, Indies *true* Christofer;
Cabots, *braue* Florida, *much admirer*;
Meta Incognita, *rare* Martin Frobisher;
Gilberts *braue* Humphery, Neptunes *deuourer*;

Captaine Amadis, Raleighs *discouerer*;
Sir Richard Grenvill, Zealands *braue coaster*:
Drake, *doomes, drowne, death,* Spaines *scorner*;
Gosnolds *Relates,* Pring *prime observer.*

Though these be gone, and left behinde a name,
Yet Smith *is here to Anvile out a peece*
To after Ages, and eternall Fame,
That we may haue the golden Iasons *fleece.*

He Vulcan *like did forge a true Plantation,*
And chain'd their Kings, to his immortall glory;
Restoring peace and plentie to the Nation,
Regaining honour to this worthy Story.

By him the Infidels *had due correction,*
He blew the bellowes still of peace and plentie:
He made the Indians *bow vnto subiection,*
And Planters ne're return'd to Albion *empty.*

The Colonies pin'd, staru'd, staring, bones so feeble, [1624]
By his braue proiects, proued strong againe:
The Souldiers' lowance he did seeke to treble,
And made the Salvage *in vncouth place remaine.*

He left the Countrey in prosperous happie state,
And plenty stood with peace at each mans doore:
Regarding not the Salvage *loue nor hate:*
Themselues grew well, the Indians *wondrous poore.*

This there he did and now is home return'd,
To shew vs all that never thither goe:
That in his heart, he deepely oft hath mourn'd,
Because the Action goeth on so slow.

Wise, Rich,
graue, prize
Braue, Benefactors,
Replant, want, continue still good Actors.

finde,
and bring
kinde, eyes
Be to blind;
By Gods great might, giue Indians *light.*

Bloud,
to
money, doe
Spend that good,
That may giue Indians *heav'nly food.*

no lesse,
God you
still
And shall blesse;
Both you and yours the Lands possesse.

S. M.

See here behold as in a Glasse,
All that is, or is and was.

T. T. 1624.

Samuel Purchas of his friend Captaine *Iohn Smith*, and his *Virginia.*

[1624]

Oe here SMITHS *Forge, where Forgery 's Roague-branded,*
True Pegasus *is shoo'd, fetters are forged*
For Silke-sotts, Milk-sops, base Sloth, farre hence landed,
(*Soile-chang'd,* Soule-soil'd still*) Englands *dregs, dis-charged,*
To plant (*supplant!*) Virginia, *home-disgorged:*
Where vertues praise frames good men Stories armour
'Gainst Time, Achilles-*like, with best Arts charged;*
Pallas, *all-arm'd, all-learn'd, can teach Sword-Grammer,*
Can Pens of Pikes; Armes t' Arts; to Scholar, Souldier hammer:

* *Cælum non animum mutant*

Can Pilgrim *make a* Maker; *all so well*
Hath taught Smith *scoure my rustie out-worne* Muse,
And so coniur'd her in Virginian *Cell,*
That things vnlearned long by want of vse,
Shee fresh areeds me read, without abuse

By fabling. Arthurs *great Acts little made*
By greater lies she saith; seales Faith excuse
[a]*T'* Island, Groonland, Estotiland *to wade*
After lie-legends; Malgo, Brandon, *are Wares braide.*

The Fryer of Linne[b] *frights her with his black Art*;
Nor Brittish Bards *can tell where* Madoc[c] *planted.*
Cabots, Thorns, Elyots *truth haue wonne her heart,*
Eldest discov'rers of New Worlds Cont'nent (*granted*
So had iust Fates.) Colon *and* Vespuce *panted*;
This got the name[d], *last, least of Three*; *the Other*
New Worlds Isles found first: Cabot *is most chanted*
In Three-Mens-song; *did more New World discover*
Then both, then any; *an hundred degrees coasted over.*

Haile Sir Sebastian, Englands *Northern Pole,*
Virginia's *finder*; *Virgin* Eliza *nam'd it,*
Gaue 't Raleigh. (Rut, Prat, Hore, *I not enrole*)
Amadas *rites to* English *right first fram'd it.*
Lane *planted, return'd, nor had* English *tam'd it:*
Greenviles *and* Whites *men all slaine*; *New Plantation*
IAMES *founds, Sloth confounds, feare, pride, faction sham'd it:*
Smiths *Forge mends all, makes chaines for* Savage *Nation,*
Frees, feeds the rest; *the rest reade in his Bookes Relation.*

[a] These are said a thousand yeares agoe to haue beene in the North parts of *America.*

[b] He is said to discover the Pole 1360.

[c] *Madoc ap Owen* Planted some remote Western parts. 1170.

[d] *America* named of *Americus Vesputius*; which discovered les then *Colon* or Sir *Sebastian Cabot*, and the Continent later. *Colon* first found the Isles 1492. the Continent 1498. Aboue a yeare after *Cabot* had don it. He was set forth by *Henry* 7. and after by *Hen.* 8. Knighted, and made grand Pilot of *England* by *Ed.* 6 Vnder whom he procured the sending of Sir *Hugh Willoughby*, and discovery of *Greenland* and *Russia*: having by himself discovered on *America* from 67 North lat. to neere 40 South.

Thomas Macarnesse to his worthy friend and Countryman, Captaine *Iohn Smith.*

[1624]

Ho loues *to* liue *at home, yet* looke *abroad,*
And know *both* passen *and* vnpassen *road,*
The prime Plantation of an vnknowne shore,
The men, *the* manners, fruitfulnesse, *and* store:
Read but this little Booke, and then confesse,
The lesse *thou* lik'st *and* lou'st, *thou* liu'st *the* lesse.

He writ it with great labour, for thy good,
Twice over, now in paper, *'fore in* blood;
It cost him deare, both paines, without an ayme
Of private *profit, for thy* publicke *gaine.*
That thou mightst read *and* know *and safely* see,
What he by practice, *thou by* Theoree.

Commend *him for his loyall loving heart,*
Or else come mend *him, and take thou his part.*

To his friend Captaine *Iohn Smith,* and his Worke.

Know not how Desert more great can rise,
Then out of Danger t' ane for good mens Good;
Nor who doth better winne th' Olympian *prize,*
Than he whose Countryes Honor stirres his bloud;
Private respects haue private expectation,
Publicke designes, should publish reputation.

This Gentleman whose Volumne heere is stoard [1624]
With strange discoverie of GODS strangest Creatures,
Giues vs full view, how he hath Sayl'd, and Oar'd,
And Marcht, full many myles, whose rough defeatures,
Hath beene as bold, as puissant, vp to binde
Their barbarous strength's, to follow him dog-linde.

But wit, nor valour, now adayes payes scores
For estimation; all goes now by wealth,
Or friends; tush! thrust the beggar out of dores
That is not Purse-lyn'd; those which liue by stealth
Shall haue their haunts; no matter what's the guest
In many places; monies well come best.

But those who well discerne, esteeme not so:
Nor I of thee braue Smith, *that hast beat out*
Thy Iron thus; though I but little know
To what t'hast seene; yet I in this am stout:
My thoughts, maps to my minde some accidents,
That makes mee see thy greater presidents.

Io: Done.

To my worthy friend Captaine *Iohn Smith.*

How great a part of knowledge had wee lost,
Both of Virginia *and the* Summer Isles,
Had not thy carefull diligence and cost
Inform'd vs thus, with thy industrious stile!
Like Cæsar *now thou writ'st what thou hast done,*
These acts, this Booke will liue while ther's a Sunne.

Edw: Worseley.

To his much respected Friend Captaine *Iohn Smith.*

[1624]

ENvie *avant. For* Smith, *whose* Anvill *was* Experience,
Could take his heat, *knew how and when to* Strike,
Wrought well this Peece; *till* After-negligence
Mistaking temper, *Cold, or* Scorch'd; *or like*
Vnskilfull workmen, that can never Fyle
Nor Pollish *it, that takes in* Forge *such toyle*:
Heere *Noble* Smith, *thou shewest the* Temper *true,*
*Which other Tampring-*Tempres *never knew.*

Ro: Norton.

To his loving friend Captaine *Iohn Smith.*

WHere *actions speake the praises of a man,*
There, Pennes that vse to flatter silent be,
Or if they speake, it is to scorne or scanne;
For such with vertue seldome doe agree.

When I looke backe on all thy labours past,
Thy travels, perils, losses oft sustaind
By Sea and Land; and (which is worst and last)
Neglect *or* small reward, *so dearely gaind.*

I doe admire thy still vndanted spirit;
vnwearied yet to worke thy Countries good.
This be thy praise then, due vnto thy merit;
For it th'hast venter'd life; and lost thy blood.

1. 2. 3. 1. 2. 3.
Truth, travayle, and Neglect, pure, painefull, most vnkinde,
1. 2. 3. 1. 2. 3.
Doth proue, consume, dismay, the soule, the corps, the minde.

Edw: Ingham.

To my deare friend by true Vertue ennobled Captaine *Iohn Smith.*

[1624]

More then enough I cannot thee commend :
Whose both abilities and Loue doe tend
So to advance the good of that Estate,
By English *charge, and Planters propagate*
Through heapes of painfull hazards ; in the first
Of which, that Colony *thy Care hath nurst.*
And often that effected but with ten
That after thee, and now, three hundred men
Haue faild in, 'mong the Salvages ; *who shake*
At bruit of Thee, as Spaine *at Name of* Drake.
Which well appeares ; considering the while
Thou governedst, nor force of theirs, ne guile
Lessend a man of thine ; but since (I rue)
In Brittish *blood they deeply did imbrue*
Their Heathen hands. And (truth to say) we see,
Our selues wee lost, vntimely leaving Thee.
Nor yet perceiue I any got betweene
Thee and thy merit ; which hath better beene
In prayse ; or profit much ; if counted iust ;
Free from the Weales abuse, or wronged trust.
Some few particulars *perhaps haue sped ;*
But wherein hath the publicke *prospered ?*
Or is there more of those Vast Countries knowne,
Then by thy Labours and Relations showne
First, best ? And shall wee loue Thee now the lesse ?
Farre be it ! fit condignely to expresse
Thankes, by new Charge, or recompence ; by whom,
Such past good hath, such future good may come.

David Wiffin.

Noble Captaine *Smith*, my worthy Friend

[1624]

NOt like the Age wherein thou liu'st, to lie
Buried in basenesse, sloth, or Ribaldrie
(For most doe thus) hast thou thy selfe applide;
But, in faire Actions, Merits height descride:
Which (like foure Theaters to set thee forth)
The worlds foure Quarters testifie thy worth.
The last whereof (America) *best showes*
Thy paines, and prayse; and what to thee shee owes,
(Although thy Sommer shone on th' Elder Three,
In as great Deeds as great varietie)
For opening to Her Selfe Her Selfe, in Two *
Of Her *large Members; Now* Ours, *to our view.*
Thereby endearing vs to thy desart,
That doubly dost them to our hands impart;
There *by thy* Worke, Heere *by thy* Workes; *By each*
Maist thou Fames lasting Wreath (for guerdon) reach.
And so become, in after Times t' ensue,
A President for others, So *to doe.*

William Grent.

* *Virginia* now inhabited, and *New-England.*

To his worthily affected Friend, Captaine *Iohn Smith.*

AMongst so many that by learned skill,
Haue given iust prayse to thee, and to thy Booke,
Deare friend receiue this pledge of my good will,
Whereon, if thou with acceptation looke,
And thinke it worthie, ranke amongst the rest:
Vse thy discretion, I haue done my best.

Αγώγυμὸς.

The Contents of the generall History, divided into six Books.

The first Booke.

1170 THE *first voyage to the new World, by* Madock *Prince of Wales. The next by* Hanno *Prince of Carthage, and how it was offred K.* Hen. 7. *by*
1488 Chr. Cullumbus, *that vndertooke it for the*
1492 Spanyards. 1492. ... ... [*p.* 303]
How Iohn Cabot *was imployed by King*
1497 Hen. *the* 7. *and found the Continent before* Cul-
1576 lumbus. *Also Sir* Martin Frobisher, *and Sir*
1583 Humphrey Gilbert *ranged towards the North.*
1584 *And how Captaine* Amidas *was sent to discover the coast of* Florida *by Sir* Walter Raleigh *and his associates. And the Country* Wingandacoa *was called* Virginia *by Queene* Elizabeth. *Page* 1—4. ... ... [*p.* 304]
1585 *Sir* Richard Greenvill *sent thither with* 108. *he left for a plantation. The discovery of the Rivers* Chawonok *and* Moratoc. *The trechery of their King, who with eight more were slaine; and they all returned to* England *againe the same yeare with Sir* Francis Drake. *pag.* 5—9. [*p.* 310]
The Observations of Master Heriot. *Of their commodities, victuall, fruits, beasts, fishes, and foules. Their Religion, and beliefe of God, of the Creation of the world, and man; the immortalitie of the soule; the subtiltie of their Priests;*

the peoples simplicitie, and desire of salvation; and other Accidents. pag. 9—12. ... ... [*p.* 319]
1586 *Sir* Rich: Greenvill *sent to supply them. Not finding them, left fiftie. Their successe. page* 13. [*p.* 325]
1587 *Master* White *sent to relieue them, found they were all slaine, yet left* 115. *more, and departed.* [*p.* 326]
1589 *Returning the second time, he could not heare of them; his Observations and Accidents. pag.* 14—16. ... ... [*p.* 329]
1602 *A discovery by Captaine* Gosnoll *of* Elizabeths *Isles; his Observations, Relations, and returne. pag.* 17. 18. ... ... [*p.* 332]
The voyage of Captaine Pring *to the same Coast.* ... ... [*p.* 336]
1603 *The discovery of Captaine* Waymouth; *his Observations, Relations, and returne. pag.* 18—20. ... ... [*p.* 337]
1605 *A Map of the old* Virginia, *with the figures of the* Salvages. ... ... [To face *p.* 342]

The second Booke.

Of *Virginia* now planted, discovered by Captaine Smith.

1606 *The Latitude, Temperature, and Capes; a description of* Chisapeack *Bay, and seaven navigable Rivers that fall into it, with their severall Inhabitants, and diversitie of Language. pag.* 21—25. ... ... [*p.* 343]
Of things growing Naturally, as woods, fruits, gummes, berries, herbs, roots; also of beasts, birds, and fishes; how they divide the yeare, prepare their ground, plant their corne, and vse it and other victuall. pag. 25—29. ... ... [*p.* 352]
What commodities may be had by industry.

[1607-9] *The description of the people, their numbers, constitutions, dispositions, attyre, buildings, lodgings and gardens, their vsage of children, striking of fire, making their Bowes and Arrowes, kniues, swords, targets, and boats: how they spinne, make fish-hooks, and ginnes, and their order of hunting. Consultations and order in Warres. pag.* 29—33. ... ... [*p.* 359]

Their musicke, entertainment, trade, Physicke, Chirurgery and Charmes. Their Religion, God, burials ordinary and extraordinary, Temples, Priests, Ornaments, solemnities, Coniurations, Altars, sacrifices, black boyes, and resurrection. pag. 34—36. ... ... [*p.* 368]

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And a Mappe of the Countrey of Virginia *now planted.* ... ... [To face *p.* 384]

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Of the Accidents and Proceedings of the *English.*

1606 *Their orders of government, Accidents in going, first landing and governe ment setled. pag.* 41. 42. ... ... [*p.* 385]

1607 *The* Salvages *assault the Fort, the ships returne, their names* [*who*] *were left, occasion of sicknes, plenty vnexpected, the building of* Iames *Towne, the beginning of Trade, two proiects to abandon the Country. pag.* 43—46. ... ... [*p.* 388]

Their first attempts vpon the Salvages. *Cap-*

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The discovery of the river Payankatank; *their fight with the* Nandsamunds, *and* Chisapeacks; *their returne to* Iames *town. p.* 65.... [*p.* 430]

[1608] *The Presidency surrendred to Captaine* Smith. *The second Supply by Captaine* Newport, *many Presents sent from* England *to* Powhatan, *his scorne, Consultations; factions suppressed; Captaine* Smith *visiteth* Powhatan; Pocahontas *entertaines him with a Maske; the Coronation of* Powhatan, *and Conditions. pag.* 68. ... ... [*p.* 433]

The discovery of the Monacans; *a punishment for swearing; the* Chickahamanians *forced to Contribution; the abuses of the Mariners; Master* Scriveners *voyage to* Werowocomoco. *pag.* 68—70. ... ... [*p.* 438]

Captaine Smiths *Relation to* England *of the estate of the* Colony: *the names of them arrived in this Supply. pag.* 71. 72. ... ... [*p.* 442]

Nandsamund *forced to Contribution. The first Marriage in* Virginia. Apamatuck *discovered. pag.* 73. ... ... [*p.* 446]

Captaine Smiths *iourney to* Pamavnkee. *The discovery of the* Chawwonocks. Smiths [1609] *discourse to* Powhatan; *His reply and flattery; and his discourse of Peace and Warre.* Powhatans *plot to murther* Smith, *discovered by his daughter* Pocahontas. *pag.* 77. ... ... [*p.* 448]

Their escape at Pamavnkee. *The Dutchmen deceiue Captaine* Winne, *and arme the* Salvages; *sixteene* English *beset by seven hundred* Salvages, Smith *takes their King* Opechankanough *prisoner; the* Salvages *excuse and reconcilement. p.* 77.—80. ... ... [*p.* 456]

Master Scrivener *and others drowned; Master* Wiffins *desperate iourney to* Pamavnkee; Powhatan *constraines his men again to be trecherous; he is forced to fraught their Ship;* Smith *poysoned; the Dutch mens trechery. pag.* 80—82. ... ... [*p.* 460]

The Dutch-mens plot to murther Smith. *He taketh the King of* Paspahegh *prisoner, and others; they become all subiect to the* English. *pag.* 84. ... ... [*p.* 467]

[1609] *A* Salvage *smoothered, yet recovered; three or foure* Salvages *slaine in drying stolne powder. Great extremity occasioned by ratts; Bread made of dryed Sturgeon; the punishment for loyterers; the discovery of the* Mangoags. *Captaine* Argals *first arrivall; the inconveniences in a Plantation. p.* 84—89.... ... [*p.* 469]
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1610 *The arrivall of Sir* Thomas Gates. Iames *Towne abandoned. The arrivall of the Lord* La Warre; *their actions, and both their returnes. pag.* 105—108. ... ... [*p.* 497]
1611 *The government left to Captaine* Percie; *and his proceedings. The arrivall of Sir* Thomas Dale, *and his actions. pag.* 109—110. ... ... [*p.* 505]
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1612 *the building* Henerico, *and the* Bermudas; *how Captaine* Argall *tooke* Pocahontas *prisoner.* Dales *voyage to* Pamavnkee. *The*
1613 *marriage of* Pocahontas *to Master* Rolfe. *Articles of Peace with the* Salvages. *p*[*ag*]. 110—114. ... ... [*p.* 509]
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1618 *the death of* Powhatan; *ten* English *slaine*; Argals *accidents and proceeedings. The Lord* de la Warre *sent againe governour*; *his death. A relation of their present estates. Haile-stones* 8. *inches about. pag.* 121—125. ... ... [*p.* 530]
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1622 *Captaine* Each *sent to build Forts and Barks. The cause and manner of the Massacre; the numbers slaine; the providence of Captaine* Nuse; *Captaine* Chroshaw *his voyage to* Patowomek. *pag.* 143—151. ... [*p.* 570]

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1623 Pamavnkee. *The opinion of Captaine* Smith *how to subiect the* Salvages. *The arriuall of Captaine* Butler *in* Virginia, *and other Accidents. pag.* 152—161. ... ... [*p.* 588]

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A Proclamation, no Tobacco *be vsed in* England, *but what shall come from* Virginia, *or the* Somer Isles; *quere* [*i.e.*, see] *the Proclamation.*

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1610 George Somers; *their accidents, deliverance and arrivall in* Virginia. Somers *returne to the Isles; his death, and Epitaph, the accidents*
1611 *hapned; three men lived there alone two yeares. pag.* 174—177. ... ... [*p.* 635]
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1613 *wracks. Their first Supply; a strange increase of Potatoes. The attempt of* 2. *Spanish ships; a great mortality; a strange being of Ravens;*
1614 *a new Supply, with their Accidents, and* Moores *returne. pag.* 177—180.... ... ... [*p.* 642]
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1617 *taine* Powell; *Assises. The Country neer devoured with ratts; their strange confusion.*
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1619 *The government of Captaine* Butler; *A plat-*

[1619] *forme burnt, and much hurt by a Hericano. The refortifying the Kings Castle. The arrivall of two Dutch Frigots. The rebuilding the Mount, and a Tombe for Sir* George Somers. *The reformation of their lawes and officers. Their Assises. A Parliament. Their acts; their opinion of the Magazin. The build-*
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1621 *strange Sodomy; many Ordnances got from wracks. Their estates present. pag.* 191—199. [*p.* 669]
1622 *Master* Barnard *sent to be governour; his arrivall, death, and funerall, with the pro-*
1623 *ceedings of Master* Harrison *his successor,*
1624 *and Captaine* Woodhouse *their governor. pag.* 200—201. ... ... [*p.* 687]
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1614 *accounted but a miserable Desert. Captain* Smith's *first voyage; what peace and warres he had with the* Salvages, *and within* 6. *moneths returned with* 1500l. *worths of commodities; got Prince* Charles *to call it* New-England. *A Table of the old names and the new. pag.* 203—205. ... ... [*p.* 695]
Captaine Hobsons *voyage to* Capan; *the* Londoners *apprehend it. The situation: notes for ignorant vndertakers. The description of the Country. Staple Commodities; present proofe of the healthfulnesse of the clime. Observations of the* Hollanders *chiefe trade. pag.* 209. ... [*p.* 701]

[1614] *Examples of the altitude comparatiuely; the reasons why to plant it. An example of the gaines every yeare; a description of* 15. *severall Countries in particular. Of their Kings, rivers, harbors, Isles, mountains, landmarks, fruits, woods, birds, fishes, beasts, &c. and how as well Gentlemen, as mec[h]anicks, may be imployed, and get much wealth, with the reasons and causes of the defaylements. pag.* 206—221. ... ... [*p.* 710]
1615 *Captaine* Smiths *second voyage; his ship*
neere foundered in the Sea; He reimbarketh
1616 *himselfe; incountreth the English Pyrats; fought with the French Pyrates; is betrayed by* 4. *French men of warre; how he was released; his men ran from him with ship and all; how he lived with the French men; what fights they had, what prizes they tooke; the French mens ingratitude.* 13 *sayle cast away: how he escaped, proceeded in France, returned for* England, *and punished them* [*that*] *ran from him. pag.* 222—227. ... ... [*p.* 731]
1617 *The yearely trialls of* New-England; *the*
1618 *benefit of fishing, as Master* Dee, *and divers report, and approoved by the* Hollanders *Records;*
1619 *how it becomes so well apprehended, that more then* 150. *haue gone thither to fish, with an estimate of their gaines, with many observations and Accidents. pag.* 228—230. ... ... [*p.* 743]
1620 *A Plantation in* New-England; *their first landing; divers iourneys and accidents; the description of the harbors, bayes, lakes, and that place they inhabit, called* New-Plimouth; *conference with the* Salvages; *and kinde vsage of the King of the* Massasoyts; *a strange policie of* Tusquantum. *pag.* 230—234. ... [*p.* 749]
1621 *The* Salvages *make warres for their friendships; the* English *revenge their friends iniuries.*
1622 *Notes and observations. They lived two yeares without Supplyes; the death of* Tusquantum; *they contriue to murther the* English; *how the* English *did cure a King sicke to death; two*

most desperate Salvages; *the courage of Captaine* Standish; *the* Salvages *sue for peace. pag.* 235—239. ... ... [*p.* 758]

1623 *A most remarkable observation of Gods loue.* 40 *sayle fished there this yeare; the religion of the* Salvages; *the government; an answer to obiections; considerations; the charge; the order of the Western men. pag.* 140—142.... [*p.* 766]

The effects of shipping; the Popes order for the East and West Indies. *How to build a little navy royall; contention for* New-England. *The necessitie of martiall power. pag.* 243—244. [*p.* 773]

The charge to set forth a ship of a 100. *tuns, both to make a fishing voyage, and increase the plantation. The facilitie of the fishing lately*

1624 *observed. Their present estate at* New-Plimouth, *and order of government.* ... ... [*p.* 778]

Its not his part that is the best Translator,
To render word for word to every Author.

THE FIRST BOOK.

1624.

The English voyages to the old Virginia.

1584-1605.

[This First Book is merely an Abridgement of the earlier English voyages to Virginia, compiled from various publications, by Captain JOHN SMITH, for the most part in 1622, *p.* 331.]

HOW ANCIENT AVTHORS REPORT, THE NEVV-VVORLD,

Now called *America*, was discovered: and part thereof first Planted by the ENGLISH, called VIRGINIA, *with the Accidents and Proceedings of the same.*

The first Booke.

FOR the Stories of *Arthur*, *Malgo*, and *Brandon*, that say a thousand yeares agoe they were in the North of *America*; or the Fryer of *Linn* that by his blacke Art went to the North pole in the yeare 1360. in that I know them not. Let this suffice. [1170]

The Chronicles of *Wales* report, that *Madock*, sonne to *Owen Quineth*, Prince of *Wales* seeing his two brethren at debate who should inherit, prepared certaine Ships, with men and munition, and left his Country to seeke aduentures by Sea: leauing *Ireland* North he sayled west till he came to a Land vnknowne. Returning home and relating what pleasant and fruitfull Countries he had seene without Inhabitants, and for what barren ground his brethren and kindred did murther one another, he prouided a number of Ships, and got with him such men and women as were desirous to liue in quietnesse, that arriued 1170

[1170–1583] with him in this new Land in the yeare 1170: Left many of his people there and returned for more. But where this place was no History can show.

The *Spanyards* say *Hanno* a Prince of *Carthage* was the first: and the next *Christopher Cullumbus*, a Genoesian,
1492. whom they sent to discover those vnknowne parts. 1492.

But we finde by Records, *Cullumbus* offered his seruice in the yeare 1488. to King *Henry* the seauenth; and by accident vndertooke it for the *Spanyards*. In the Interim King *Henry* gaue a Commission to *Iohn Cabot*, and his three sonnes, *Sebastian*, *Lewis*, and *Sautius*. *Iohn* and *Sebastian* well provided, setting sayle, ranged a great part
1497. of this vnknowne world, in the yeare 1497. For though *Cullumbus* had found certaine Iles, it was 1498. ere he saw the Continent, which was a yeare after *Cabot*. Now *Americus* came a long time after, though the whole Continent to this day is called *America* after his name, yet *Sebastian Cabot* discovered much more then them all, for he sayled to about forty degrees Southward of the lyne, and to sixty-seauen towards the North: for which King *Henry* the eight Knighted him and made him grand Pilate of *England*. Being very aged King *Edward* the sixt gaue him a Pention of 166*l*. 13*s*. 4*d*. yearely. By his directions Sir *Hugh Willowby* was sent to finde out the Country of *Russia*, but the next yeare he was found frozen to death in his Ship, and all his Company.

1576. Master *Martin Frobisher* was sent in the yeare 1576. by our most gracious Queene *Elizabeth*, to search for the Northwest passage, and *Meta incognita*: for which he was Knighted, honored, and well rewarded.

1583. Sir *Humphrey Gilbert* a worthy Knight attempted a Plantation in some of those parts: and obtained Letters Pattents to his desire: but with this *Proviso*, He should [2] maintaine possession in some of those vast Countries within the tearme of sixe yeares. Yet when he was provided with a Navy able to incounter a Kings power, even here at home they fell in diuisions, and so into confusion, that they gaue over the Designe ere it was begun, notwithstanding all this losse, his vndanted spirit began againe, but his Fleet fell with *New-found land*, and he perished in his returne, as at large you may read in the

third Volume of the English Voyages, written by Master *Hackluit* [*in* 1599–1600]. [1583-4]

Vpon all those Relations and inducements, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, a noble Gentleman, and then in great esteeme, vndertooke to send to discover to the Southward. And though his occasions and other imployments were such he could not goe himselfe, yet he procured her Maiesties Letters Pattents, and perswaded many worthy Knights and Gentlemen to adventure with him to finde a place fit for a Plantation. Their Proceedings followeth.

The most famous, renowned, and euer worthy of all memory, for her courage, learning, iudgement, and vertue, Queene *Elizabeth*, granted her Letters Patents to Sir *Walter Raleigh* for the discovering and planting new Lands and Countries, not actually possessed by any Christians. This Patenty got to be his assistants Sir *Richard Grenvell* the valiant, Master *William Sanderson* a great friend to all such noble and worthy actions, and divers other Gentlemen and Marchants, who with all speede prouided two small Barkes well furnished with all necessaries, vnder the command of Captaine *Philip Amidas* and Captaine *Barlow*. The 27. of Aprill [1584] they set sayle from the Thames, the tenth of May passed the *Canaries*, and the tenth of Iune the West Indies: which vnneedfull Southerly course, (but then no better was knowne) occasioned them in that season much sicknesse. 1584.

The second of Iuly [1584] they fell with the coast of *Florida* in shoule water, where they felt a most delicate sweete smell, though they saw no land, which ere long they espied, thinking it the Continent: an hundred and twenty myles they sayled not finding any harbor. The first that appeared with much difficulty they entred, and anchored, and after thankes to God they went to view the next Land adioyning to take possession of it for the Queenes most excellent Maiestie: which done, they found their first landing place very sandy and low, but so full of grapes that the very surge of the Sea sometimes over-flowed them: of which they found such plenty in all places, both on the sand, the greene soyle and hils, as in the plaines as well on euery little shrub, as also climbing towardes the tops of high Cedars, that they did thinke in the world were not the like abundance. Their arrivall. Abundance of Grapes.

[1584] The Ile of *Wokokon.*

We passed by the Sea-side towards the tops of the next hills being not high: from whence we might see the Sea on both sides, and found it an Ile of twentie myles in length, and six in breadth, the vallyes replenished with goodly tall Cedars. Discharging our Muskets, such a flocke of Cranes, the most white, arose by vs, with such a cry as if an Army of men had shouted altogether. This Ile hath many goodly Woods, and Deere, Conies, and Foule in incredible abundance, and vsing the Authors owne phrase, the Woods are not such as you finde in *Bohemia*, *Moscovia*, or *Hercinia*, barren and fruitlesse, but the highest and reddest Cedars of the world, bettering them of the Assores, Indies, or *Libanus*: Pynes, Cypres, Saxefras, the Lentisk that beareth Mastick, and many other of excellent smell and qualitie. Till the third day we saw not any of the people, then in a little Boat three of them appeared, one of them went on shore, to whom wee rowed, and he attended vs without any signe of feare; after he had spoke much though we vnderstood not a word, of his owne accord he came boldly aboord vs, we gaue him a shirt, a hat, wine and meate, which he liked well, and after he had well viewed the barkes and vs, he went away in his owne Boat, and within a quarter of a myle of vs in halfe an houre, had loaden his Boat with fish, with which he came againe to the poynt of land, and there devided it in two parts, poynting one part to the Ship, the other to the Pinnace, and so departed. [3]

In Lybanus are not many.

Conference with a Salvage.

The Arriuall of the Kings brother.

The next day came diuers Boats, and in one of them the Kings Brother, with forty or fifty men, proper people, and in their behauiour very ciuill; his name was *Granganameo*, the King is called *Wingina*, the Country *Wingandacoa*. Leauing his Boats a little from our Ships, he came with his trayne to the poynt: where spreading a Matte he sat downe. Though we came to him well armed, he made signes to vs to sit downe without any shew of feare, stroking his head and brest, and also ours, to expresse his loue. After he had made a long speech vnto vs, we presented him with diuers toyes, which he kindly accepted. He was greatly regarded by his people, for none of them did sit, nor speake a word, but foure, on whom we bestowed presents also, but he tooke all from them, making signes all things did belong to him.

The King himselfe in a conflict with a King his next neighbour and mortall enemy, was shot in two places through the body, and the thigh, yet recouered: whereby he lay at his chiefe towne six dayes iourney from thence. [1584]

A day or two after shewing them what we had, *Granganameo* taking most liking to a Pewter dish, made a hole in it, hung it about his necke for a brest-plate: for which he gaue vs twenty Deere skins, worth twenty Crownes; and for a Copper Kettell, fiftie skins, worth fiftie Crownes. Much other trucke we had, and after two dayes he came aboord, and did eate and drinke with vs very merrily. Not long after he brought his wife and children, they were but of meane stature, but well fauoured and very bashfull; she had a long coat of Leather, and about her privities a peece of the same, about her forehead a band of white Corrall, and so had her husband, in her eares were bracelets of pearle, hanging downe to her middle, of the bignesse of great Pease; the rest of the women had Pendants of Copper, and the Noblemen fiue or sixe in an eare; his apparrell as his wiues, onely the women weare their haire long on both sides, and the men but on one; they are of colour yellow, but their hayre is blacke, yet we saw children that had very fayre Chesnut coloured hayre. Trade with the Salvages.

After that these women had beene here with vs, there came downe from all parts great store of people, with Leather, Corrall, and diuers kinde of dyes, but when *Granganameo* was present, none durst trade but himselfe, and them that wore red Copper on their heads, as he did. When euer he came, he would signifie by so many fires he came with so many boats, that we might know his strength. Their Boats are but one great tree, which is but burnt in the forme of a trough with gins and fire, till it be as they would haue it. For an armour he would haue ingaged vs a bagge of pearle, but we refused, as not regarding it, that wee might the better learn where it grew. He was very iust of his promise, for oft we trusted him, and he would come within his day to keepe his word. He sent vs commonly euery day a brace of Bucks, Conies, Hares, and fish, sometimes Mellons, Walnuts, Cucumbers, Pease, and diuers rootes. This Author sayth, their corne groweth three times in fiue moneths; in May they sow, *Note.*

[1584] in Iuly reape; in Iune they sow, in August reape; in Iuly sow, in August reape. We put some of our Pease in the ground, which in ten dayes were 14. ynches high.

The soyle is most plentifull, sweete, wholesome, and fruitfull of all other, there are about 14. seuerall sorts of sweete smelling tymber trees: the most parts of the vnderwood, Bayes and such like: such Okes as we, but far greater and better.

After this acquaintance, my selfe with seauen more went twenty myle into the Riuer *Occam*, that runneth toward the Cittie *Skicoack*, and the euening following we came to an Ile called *Roanoak*, from the harbour where we entred 7. leagues; at the North end was 9. houses, builded with Cedar, fortified round with sharpe trees, and the entrance like a Turnpik. When we came towards it, the wife of *Granganameo* came running out to meete vs, (her husband was absent) commanding her people to draw our Boat ashore for beating on the billowes, other she appoynted to carry vs on their backes aland, others to bring our Ores into the house for [4] stealing. When we came into the other roome, (for there was fiue in the house) she caused vs to sit downe by a great fire; after tooke off our clothes and washed them, of some our stockings, and some our feete in warme water, and she her selfe tooke much paines to see all things well ordered, and to prouide vs victuall.

The Ile *Roanoak*.

The great courtesie of a Woman.

A banquet.

After we had thus dryed our selues, she brought vs into an Inner roome, where she set on the bord standing a long the house somewhat like frumentie, sodden venison, and rosted fish; in like manner mellons raw, boyled rootes and fruites of diuers kindes. The[i]re drinke is commonly water boyled with Ginger, sometimes with Saxefras, and wholsome herbes, but whilest the Grape lasteth they drinke wine. More loue she could not expresse to entertaine vs; they care but onely to defend themselues from the short winter, and feede on what they finde naturall in sommer. In this feasting house was their Idoll of whom they tould vs vncredible things. When we were at meate two or three of her men came amongst vs with their Bowes and Arrowes, which caused vs to take our armes in hand. She perceiuing our distrust, caused their Bowes and Arrowes to be broken, and they beaten

out of the gate: but the euening approaching we returned to our boate, where at she much grieuing brought our supper halfe boyled, pots and all, but when she saw vs but put our boat a little off from the shoar and lye at Anchor, perceiuing our Ielousie, she sent diuers men and 30. women to sit al night on the shoare side against vs, and sent vs fiue Mats to couer vs from the raine, doing all she could to perswade vs to her house. Though there was no cause of doubt, we would not aduenture: for on our safety depended the voyage: but a more kinde louing people cannot be. [1584]

Beyond this Ile is the maine land and the great riuer *Occam*, on which standeth a Towne called *Pomeiock*, and six dayes higher, their City *Skicoak*: those people neuer saw it, but say the[i]re fathers affirme it to be aboue two houres iourney about. Into this riuer falleth an other called *Cipo*, where is found many Mustells wherein are Pearles: likewise another Riuer called *Nomapona*, on the one side whereof standeth a great towne called *Chawanock*, the Lord of the Country is not subiect to *Wingandacoa*. Beyond him an other king they cal *Menatonon*. These 3. are in league each with other. Towards the south. 4. dayes iourney is *Sequotan*, the southermost part of *Wingandacoa*. *Skicoac* a great town

Adioyning to *Secotan* beginneth the country *Pomouik*, belonging to the King called *Piamacum*, in the Country *Nusiok* vpon the great riuer *Neus*. These haue mortall warres with *Wingina*, King of *Wingandacoa*. Betwixt *Piemacum* and the Lord of *Secotan*, a peace was concluded: notwithstanding there is a mortall malice in the *Secotans*, because this *Piemacum* invited diuers men, and 30. women to a feast, and when they were altogether merry before their Idoll, which is but a meere illusion of the Deuill, they sudainly slew all the men of *Secotan*, and kept the women for their vse. Beyond *Roanoak* are many Isles full of fruits and other Naturall increases, with many Townes a long the side of the Continent. Those Iles lye 200. myles in length, and betweene them and the mayne, a great long sea, in some places. 20. 40. or 50. myles broad, in other more, somewhere lesse. And in this sea are 100. Iles of diuers bignesses, but to get into it, you haue but 3. passages and they very dangerous. *Pomouik*

Though this you see for most part be but the relations of

[1584-5] Saluages, because it is the first, I thought it not a misse to remember them as they are written by them that returned and ariued in *England* about the middest of *September* [1584] the same yeare.

How the Country was called *Virginia.*

This discouery was so welcome into *England* that it pleased her Maiestie to call this Country of *Wingandacoa*, *Virginia*, by which name now you are to vnderstand how it was planted, disolued, renued, and enlarged.

The Performers of this voyage were these following.

Philip Amadas. } *Captaines*
Arthur Barlow. }

William Grenuill.
Iohn Wood.
Iames Browewich.
Henry Greene.
Beniamen Wood.
Simon Ferdinando.
Nicholas Peryman.
Iohn Hewes.
} *Of the Compani.*

[5]

Sir Richard Grenuills voyage to Virginia, for Sir Walter Raleigh. 1585.

Sir *Richard Grenvil* voyage 1585.

THe 9. of *Aprill* he departed from *Plimouth* with 7. sayle: the chiefe men with him in command, were Master *Ralph Layne*, Master *Thomas Candish*, Master *Iohn Arundel*, Master *Stukley*, Master *Bremige*, Master *Vincent*, Master *Heryot* and Master *Iohn Clarke*. The 14. day we fell with the *Canaries*, and the 7. of *May* with *Dominico* in the West *Indies*: we landed at *Portorico*, after with much a doe at *Izabella* on the north *of Hispaniola*, passing by many Iles. Vpon the 20. we fell with the mayne of *Florida*, and were put in great danger vpon Cape *Fear*. The 26. we Anchored at *Wocokon*, where the admiral [*flag-ship*] had like to beene cast away: presently we sent to *Wingina* to *Roanoak*, and Master *Arundell* went to the mayne, with *Manteo* a saluage, and that day to *Crooton*.

The 11. The Generall victualed for 8. dayes, with a selected company went to the maine, and discovered the Townes of *Pomeiok*, *Aquascogoc*, *Secotan*, and the great Lake called *Paquipe*. At *Aquascogoc* the Indians stole a siluer Cup, wherefore we burnt the Towne and spoyled their corne, so returned to our fleete at *Tocokon*. [1585]

Whence we wayed for *Hatorask*, where we rested, and *Granganimeo*, King *Wingina's* brother with *Manteo* came abord our Admirall, the Admirall went for *Weapomeiok*, and Master *Iohn Arundell* for *England*.

Our Generall in his way home tooke a rich loaden ship of 300. tunns, with which he ariued at *Plimouth* the 18. of *September*. 1585.

These were left vnder the command of Master *Ralph Layne* to inhabite the Country, but they returned within a yeare.

Philip Amidas Admirall.
Master Thomas Heryot.
Master Acton.
Master Stafford.
Master Thomas Luddington.
Master Maruyn.
Captaine Vaghan.
Master Kendall.
Master Gardiner.
Master Predeox.
Master Rogers.
Master Haruy.
Master Snelling.
Master Antony Russe.
Master Allen.
Master Michaell Pollison.
Master Thomas Bockner.
Master Iames mason.
Master Dauid Salter.
Master Iames Skinner.

With diuers others to the number of 108.

Their first Plantation.

Touching the most remarkeable things of the Country and our proceeding from the 17 of *August* 1585. till the 18. of *Iune* 1586. we made *Roanoack* our habitation.

The vtmost of our discouery Southward was *Secotan* as we esteemed 80. leagues from *Roanoacke*. The passage from thence was thought a broad sound within the maine, being without kenning of land, yet full of flats and shoulds that our Pinnasse could not passe, and we had but one boat with 4. ores, that would carry but 15. men with their prouisions for 7. dayes: so that because the winter approached we left those discoueries till a stronger supply.

[1585-6] To the Northward; our farthest was to a Towne of the *Chesapeacks*, from *Roanoack* 130. myles. The passage is very shallow and dangerous by reason of the breadth of the sound and the little succour for a storme, but this ter[r]itory being 15. myle from the shoare, for pleasantnest of seate, for temporature of climate, fertility of soyle and comoditie of the Sea, besides beares, good woods, *Saxefras*, *Walnuts*, *&c.* is not to be excelled by any other whatsoeuer.

There be sundry other Kings they call *Weroances* as the *Mangoacks*, *Trypaniks* and *opposians*, which came to visit vs.

Chawonoack. To the northwest our farthest was *Chawonock* from *Roanoack* 130. myles our [6] passage lyeth through a broad sound, but all fresh water, and the channell Nauigable for a Ship, but out of it full of shoules.

The townes by the way by the water, are *Passaquenock* the womens towne, *Chepanoc*, *Weapomeiok*; from *Muscamunge* wee enter the riuer and iurisdiction of *Chawonock*, there it beginneth to straiten, and at *Chawonock* it is as *Thames* at *Lambeth*: betwixt them as we passed is goodly high land on the left hand, and there is a towne called *Ohanock*, where is a great corne field, it is subiect to *Chawonock*, which is the greatest Prouince vpon the riuer, and the Towne it selfe can put seuen hundred men into the field, besides the forces of the rest. The King is lame, but hath more vnderstanding then all the rest.

Chawonock 700. men.

The river of *Moratoc* is more famous then all the rest, and openeth into the sound of *Weapomeiok*, and where there is but a very small currant in *Chawonock*, it hath so strong a currant from the Southwest, as we doubted how to row against it. Strange things they report of the head of this riuer, and of *Moratoc* it selfe, a principall towne on it, and is thirtie or fortie dayes Iourney to the head. This lame King [*of Chawonock*] is called *Menatonon*. When I had him prisoner two dayes, he told mee that 3. dayes Iourney in a Canow vp the riuer *Chawonock*, then landing and going foure dayes Iourney Northeast, there is a King whose Country lyeth on the Sea, but his best place of strength is an Iland in a Bay inuironed with deepe water, where he taketh that abundance of Pearle, that not onely his skins, and his nobles, but also his beds and houses are garnished there-

Menatonon his Relations of the Ile of Pearle, and a rich Mine, and the Sea by it.

with. This king was at *Chawonock* two yeares agoe [1584] to trade with blacke pearle, his worst sort whereof I had a rope, but they were naught; but that King he sayth hath store of white, and had trafficke with white men, for whom he reserued them; he promised me guides to him, but aduised me to goe strong, for he was vnwilling strangers should come in his Country, for his Country is populous and valiant men. If a supply had come in Aprill, I resolued to haue sent a small Barke to the Northward to haue found it, whilest I with small Boates and 200. men would haue gone to the head of the riuer *Chawonock*, with sufficient guides by land, inskonsing my selfe euery two dayes, where I would leaue Garrisons for my retreat, till I came to this Bay. [1585-6]

Very neare vnto it is the riuer of *Moratoc*, directly from the West, the head of it springeth out of a mayne Rocke, which standeth so neare the Sea, that in stormes the Sea beats ouer it into this fresh spring, that of it selfe at the surse is a violent streame. I intended with two Wherries and fortie persons to haue *Menatonons* sonne for guide, to try this presently, till I could meete with some of the *Moratocks*, or *Mangoaks*; but hoping of getting more victuall from the Saluages, we as narrowly escaped staruing in that Discouery as euer men did.

Pemissapan his trechery.

For *Pemissapan* who had changed his name of *Wingina* vpon the death of his brother *Granganameo*, had giuen both the *Chawonests*, and *Mangoaks* word of my purpose: also he told me the *Chawonocks* had assembled two or three thousand to assault me at *Roanok*, vrging me daily to goe against them, and them against vs; a great assembly I found at my comming thether, which suddaine approach did so dismay them, that we had the better of them: and this confederacy against vs was procured by *Pemissapan* himselfe our chiefe friend [as] we trusted; he sent word also to the *Moratoks* and the *Mangoaks*, I came to inuade them, that they all fled vp into the high Country, so that where I assured my selfe both of succour and prouision, I found all abandoned.

The discouery of the riuer *Moratoc*.

But being thus farre on my iourney 160. myles from home, and but victuals for two dayes, besides the casualties of crosse winds, stormes, and the Saluages trechery,

[1585-6] though we intended no hurt to any: I gaue my Company to vnderstand we were onely drawne forth vpon these vaine hopes by the Saluages to bring vs to confusion: a Councell we held, to goe forward or returne, but they all were absolutely resolued but three, that whilst there was but one pynt of Corne for a man, they would not leaue the search of that riuer; for they had two Mastiue Dogs, which boyled with Saxefras leaues (if the worst fell [7] out), vpon them and the pottage they would liue two dayes, which would bring them to the sound, where they should finde fish for two dayes more to passe it to *Roanock*, which two dayes they had rather fast then goe backe a foote, till they had seene the *Mangoaks* either as friends or foes.

A noble resolution.

[*pp.* 111, 416.]

Though I did forsee the danger and misery, yet the desire I had to see the *Mangoaks* was, for that there is a prouince called *Chaunis Temoatan*, frequented by them and well knowne to all those Countries, where is a mine of Copper they call *Wassador*; they say they take it out of a riuer that falleth swiftly from high rocks in shallow water, in great Bowles, couered with leather, leauing a part open to receiue the mettall, which by the change of the colour of the water where the spout falleth, they suddainly chop downe, and haue the Bowlefull, which they cast into the fire, it presently melteth, and doth yeeld in fiue parts at the first melting two parts mettall for three of Ore. The *Mangoaks* haue such plenty of it, they beautifie their houses with great plates thereof: this the Salvages report; and young *Skiko* the King of *Chawonocks* sonne my prisoner, that had beene prisoner among the *Mangoaks*, but neuer at *Chaunis Temoatan*, for he sayd that was twentie dayes iourney overland from the *Mangoaks*.

The strange Mine of *Chaunis Temoatan*.

Menatonon also confirmed all this, and promised me guid[e]s to this mettall Country; by Land to the *Mangoaks* is but one dayes iourney, but seauen by water, which made me so willing to haue met them for some assay of this mettall: but when we came there we found no creature, onely we might see where had beene their fires.

After our two dayes iourney, and our victuals spent, in the euening we heard some call as we thought *Manteo*, who was with me in the boat; this made vs glad, he made

them a friendly answer, which they answered with a song we thought for welcome, but he told vs they came to fight. Presently they did let flie their Arrowes about the boat, but did no hurt, the other boat scouring the shore we landed: but they all were fled, and how to finde them wee knew not. [1586]

So the next morning we returned to the mouth of the riuer, that cost vs foure dayes rowing vp, and here our dogs pottage stood vs in good stead, for we had nothing els: the next day we fasted being wind-bound, and could not passe the sound, but the day following we came to *Chippanum*, where the people were fled, but their w[e]ires afforded vs fish: thus being neare spent, the next day God brought vs to *Roanocke*.

The great currant of the river *Moratoc.*

I conclude a good Mine, or the South sea will make this Country quickly inhabited, and so for pleasure and profit comparable with any in the world: otherwise there will be nothing worth the fetching. Provided there be found a better harbour then yet there is, which must be Northward if there be any. Master *Vaughan* no lesse hoped of the goodnesse of the Mine, then Master *Heriot* that the riuer *Moratocks* head, either riseth by the Bay of *Mexico*, or very neare the South Sea, or some part that openeth neare the same, which cannot with that facilitie be done as from the Bay of Pearles, by insconsing foure dayes iourney to the *Chawonoks*, *Mangoaks*, and *Moratocks*, &c.

The conspiracy of Pemissapan; *the Discouery of it; and our returne for* England *with Sir* Francis Drake.

INsenore, a Saluage, father to *Pemissapan*, the best friend we had after the death of *Granganimeo*, when I was in those Discoueries, could not prevaile any thing with the King from destroying vs, that all this time God had preserued by his good counsell to the King to be friendly vnto vs. *Pemissapan* thinking as the bru[i]te was, in this last iourney we were

[1586] slaine and starued, began to blaspheme our God that would suffer it, and not defend vs, so that old *Ensenore* had no more credit for vs: for he began by all the deuises he could to inuade vs. But in the beginning of this bru[i]te, when they saw vs all returne, the report false, [8] and had *Manteo*, and three Saluages more with vs, how little we esteemed all the people we met, and feared neither hunger, killing, or any thing, and had brought their greatest Kings sonne prisoner with vs to *Roanock*: it a little asswaged all his deuises, and brought *Ensenore* in respect againe, that our God was good, and wee their friends, and our foes should perish, for we could doe them more hurt being dead, then liuing, and that being an hundred myles from them, shot, and strucke them sicke to death, and that when we die it is but for a time then we returne againe.

The Conspiracy of *Pemissapan*.

But that which wrought the most feare among them was the handy-worke of Almightie God. For certaine dayes after my returne, *Menatonon* sent messengers to me with Pearle, and *Okisco* King of *Weopomeoke*, to yeeld himselfe seruant to the Queene of *England*. *Okisco* with twenty-foure of his principall men came to *Pemissapan* to acknowledge this dutie and subiection, and would performe it. All which so changed the heart of *Pemissapan*, that vpon the aduise of *Ensenore*, when we were ready to famish they came and made vs w[e]ires, and planted their fields they intended to abandon (we not hauing one corne till the next haruest to sustaine vs).

The death of a most rare Salvage.

This being done our old friend *Ensenore* dyed the twenty of Aprill [1586], then all our enemies wrought with *Pemissapan* to put in practise his deuises, which he easily imbraced, though they had planted corne by vs, and at *Dasamonpeack* two leagues from vs. Yet they got *Okisco* our tributary to get seuen or eight hundred (and the *Mandoages* with the *Chisapeans* should doe the like) to meete (as their custome is) to solemnize the Funerall of *Ensenore*. Halfe of whom should lye hid, to cut off the straglers, seeking crabs and prouision: the rest come out of the mayne vpon the Signall by fire. Twenty of the principall of *Pemissapans* men had charge in the night to beset my house, put fire in the Reeds that couered it;

which might cause me run out so naked and amazed, they might without danger knocke out my braines. The same order for Master *Heriots*, and the rest: for all should haue beene fired at an instant. In the meane time they should sell vs nothing, and in the night spoyle our w[e]ires, to make necessitie disperse vs. For if we were but ten together, a hundred of them would not meddle with vs. [1586]

So our famine increased, I was forced to send Captaine *Stafford* to *Croatan*, with twentie to feed himselfe, and see if he could espie any sayle passe the coast; Master *Predeox* with ten to *Hatarask* vpon the same occasion: and other small parties to the Mayne to liue vpon rootes and Oysters.

Pemissapan sequestring himselfe [that] I should not importune him for victuall, and to draw his troupes, found not the *Chawonests* so forward as he expected, being a people more faithfull and powerfull, and desired our friendships, and was offended with him for raising such tales, and all his proiects were reuealed to me by *Skico* my prisoner; who finding himselfe as well vsed by me as *Pemissapan*, tould me all.

These troubles caused me send to *Pemissapan*, to put suspition in his head, I was to goe presently to *Croatan* to meete a Fleete [that] came to me, though I knew no such matter: and that he would lend me men to fish and hunt. He sent me word he would come himselfe to *Roanock*; but delaying time eight dayes that all his men were there to be assembled, not liking so much company, I resolued the next day to goe [and] visit him, but first to giue them in the Ile a Canvisado, and at an instant to seaze on all their Canows about the Ile. But the towne tooke the Alarum before I ment it. For when I sent to take the Canows, he met one going from the shore, ouerthrew her and cut off two Salvages heads; wherevpon the cry arose, being by their spyes perceiued: for they kept as good watch over vs, as we of them. Vpon this they to their Bowes, and we to our Armes: three or foure of them at the first were slaine, the rest fled into the woods.

A slaughter of two Salvages.

The next morning I went to *Dassamonpeack*, and sent *Pemissapan* word I was going to *Croatan*, and tooke him in my way to complaine [that] *Osocon* would haue stole my prisoner *Skico*. Herevpon he did abide my comming, and being

[1586] among eight of the principallest, I gaue the watchword to my men, and immediately they had that they purposed [9] for vs. Himselfe being shot through with a Pistoll fell downe as dead, but presently start vp and ran away from them all, till an Irish Boy shot him over the buttocks, where they tooke him and cut off his head.

Pemissapan slaine and 8. others [1 June 1586].

Seauen dayes after Captaine *Stafforton* sent to me he descryed twentie-three Sayle. The next day came to me himselfe (of whom I must say this, from the first to the last, he neither spared labour, or perill by land or sea, fayre weather or foule, to performe any serious seruice committed to him.) He brought me a letter from Sir *Francis Drake*, whose generous mind offered to supply all my defects, of shipping, boats, munition, victuall, clothes, and men to further this action: and vpon good consultation an deliberation, he appointed me a ship of 70. tuns, with an hundred men, and foure moneths victuals, two Pinnaces, foure small Boats, with two sufficient Masters, with sufficient Gangs. All this being made ready for me, suddenly arose such a storme for foure dayes, that had like to haue driuen the whole Fleete on shore: many of them were forced to the Sea, whereof my ship so lately giuen me was one, with all my prouision and Company appoynted.

A most generous courtesie of *Sir Francis Drake*.

Notwithstanding, the storme ceasing, the Generall appointed me a ship of 170. tuns, with all prouisions as before, to carry me into *England* the next August, or when I had performed such Discoueries as I thought fit. Yet they durst not vndertake to bring her into the harbour, but she must ride in the road, leauing the care of the rest to my selfe, advising me to consider with my Company what was fittest, and with my best speed returne him answer.

Herevpon calling my Company together, who were all as priuy of the Generals offer as my selfe; their whole request was, (in regard of all those former miseries, and no hope of the returne of Sir *Richard Grenvill*,) and with a generall consent, they desired me to vrge him, we might all goe with him for *England* in his Fleete; for whose reliefe in that storme he had sustained more perill of wrack, then in all his honorable actions against his enemies.

Virginia abandoned [18 June 1586].

So with prayses to God we set sayle in Iune 1586. and arriued in *Portsmouth* the 27. of Iuly the same yeare: Leaving this remembrance to posteritie. [1586]

To reason lend me thine attentiue eares, Exempt thy selfe from mind-distracting cares:
Least that's here thus proiected for thy good; By thee reiected be, ere vnderstood.

Written by Master *Ralph Layne*, Governour.

The Observations of Master Thomas Heriot *in this Voyage.*

For Marchandize and Victualls.

WHat before is writ, is also confirmed by that learned *Mathematician* Master *Thomas Heriot*, with them in the Country, whose particular Relation of all the Beasts, Birds, Fishes, Foules, Fruites, and Rootes, and how they may be vsefull; because I haue writ it before for the most part in the Discourse[s] of Captaine *Amidas*, and Captaine *Layne*, except Silk grasse, Worme silke, Flax like Hempe, Allum, Wapeith or *Terra sigillata*, Tar, Rosen, and Turpentine, Civet-cats, Iron ore, Copper that held Silver, Coprose and Pearle: Let those briefes suffice, because I would not trouble you with one thing twice. Commodities.

Dyes.

For Dyes, *Showmack*, the herbe *Wasebur*, little rootes called *Chapacor*, and the barke of a tree called by the Inhabitants *Tangomockonominge*, which are for divers sorts of Reds. Dyes.

What more then is related is an herbe in Dutch called *Melden*, described like an Orange, growing foure foote high; A strange Salt.

[1585-6] the seede will make good broth, and the [10] stalke burnt to ashes makes a kinde of Salt: other Salt they know not, and we vsed of it for Pot-herbs. Of their *Tobacco* we found plenty, which they esteeme their chiefe Physicke.

Rootes. Ground nuts, *Tiswaw* we call *China* roots; they grow in clusters, and bring forth a bryer stalke, but the leafe is far vnlike, which will climbe vp to the top of the highest tree: the vse knowne is to cut it in small peeces, then stampe and straine it with water, and boyled makes a gelly good to eate. *Cassavia* growes in Marishes, which the *Indians* oft vse for bread and broth. *Habascon* is like a Parsnip, naught of it selfe, except compounded: and their Leekes like those in *England*.

Fruits thats strange. *Sequenummener*, a kinde of Berry like Capers, and three kinde of Berries like Acornes, called *Sagatamenor*, *Osamenor*, and *Pummuckoner*.

Beasts extraordinary. *Saquenuckot* and *Maquowoc*, two kinde of beasts, greater then Conies, and very good meate; in some places such plenty of gray Conies, like hayres, that all the people make them mantels of their skins. I haue the names of 28. severall sorts that are dispersed in the Country: of which 12. kindes we haue discouered and good to eate; but the Salvages sometimes kill a Lyon and eate him.

Fish. There is plentie of Sturgeon in February, March, Aprill, and May; all Herings in abundance; some such as ours, but the most part of 18. 20. or 24. ynches long, and more. Trouts, Porpisses, Rayes, Mullets, Old-wiues, Plaice, Tortoises both by Sea and Land: Crabs, Oysters, Mussels, Scalops, Periwinckles, Crevises, Secanank: we haue the Pictures of 12. sorts more, but their names we know not.

Foules. Turkyes, Stockdoues, Partridges, Cranes, Hernes, Swans, Geese, Parrots, Faulcons, Merlins. I haue the names in their language of 86. severall sorts.

Their woods are such as ours in *England* for the most part, except *Rakeock*, a great sweet tree, whereof they make their Canowes: and *Ascopo*, a kinde of tree like Lowrell, and Saxefras.

Their Natures and Manners.

Their Clothing, Townes, Houses, Warres, Arts, Tooles, handy crafts, and educations, are much like them in that part of *Virginia* we now [1607-1624] inhabite: which at

large you may reade in the Description thereof [*pp.* 44–84, 343–380]. But the relation of their Religion is strange, as this Author reporteth. [1585-6]

Their Religion.

Some Religion they haue, which although it be farre from the truth, yet being as it is, there is hope it may be the easier reformed. They beleeue there are many gods which they call *Mantoac*, but of different sorts and degrees. Also that there is one chiefe God that hath beene from all eternitie, who as they say when he purposed first to make the world, made first other gods of a principall order, to be as instruments to be vsed in the Creation and government to follow: And after the Sunne, Moone, and Starres, as pettie gods; and the instruments of the other order more principall. First (they say) were made waters, out of which by the gods were made all diversitie of creatures that are visible or invisible.

How the world was made.

For mankinde they say a Woman was made first, which by the working of one of the gods conceiued and brought forth children; and so they had their beginning, but how many yeares or ages since they know not; having no Records but onely Tradition from Father to sonne.

How man was made.

They thinke that all the gods are of humane shape, and therefore represent them by Images in the formes of men; which they call *Kewasowok:* one alone is called *Kewasa*; them they place in their Temples, where they worship, pray, sing, and make many offerings. The common sort thinke them also gods.

How they vse their gods.

They beleeue the immortalitie of the Soule, when life departing from the body, according to the good or bad workes it hath done, it is carried vp to the Tabernacles of the gods, to perpetuall happinesse, or to *Popogusso*, a great pit: which they thinke to be at the furthest parts of the world, where the Sunne sets, and there burne continually.

Whether they goe after death

To confirme this they told me of two men that had beene lately dead, and revived [**11**] againe; the one hapned but few yeares before our comming into the country; of a bad man, which being dead and buried, the next day the earth over him being seene to moue, was taken vp, who told them his soule was very neare entering into *Popogusso*, had not one of the gods saued him and gaue him leaue to returne againe, to teach his friends what

Two men risen from death.

[1585-6] they should doe to avoyd such torment. The other hapned the same yeare we were there, but sixtie myles from vs, which they told me for news, that one being dead, buried, and taken vp as the first, shewed, that although his body had layne dead in the graue, yet his soule liued, and had travailed far in a long broad way, on both sides whereof grew more sweet, fayre, and delicate trees and fruits, then ever he had seene before; at length he came to most braue and fayre houses, neare which he met his Father, that was dead long agoe, who gaue him charge to goe backe, to shew his friends what good there was to doe, to inioy the pleasures of that place; which when hee had done hee should come againe.

The subtiltie of their Priests.

What subtiltie so ever be in the *Weroances*, and *Priests*; this opinion worketh so much in the common sort, that they haue great respect to their Governours: and as great care to avoyde torment after death, and to enioy blisse. Yet they haue divers sorts of punishments according to the offence, according to the greatnesse of the fact. And this is the sum of their Religion, which I learned by having speciall familiaritie with their Priests, wherein they were not so sure grounded, nor gaue such credit, but through conversing with vs, they were brought into great doubts of their owne, and no small admiration of ours: of which many desired to learne more then we had meanes for want of vtterance in their Language to expresse.

Their simplicitie.

Most things they saw with vs as Mathematicall Instruments, Sea-Compasses; the vertue of the Loadstone, Perspectiue Glasses, burning Glasses: Clocks to goe of themselues; Bookes, writing, Guns, and such like; so far exceeded their capacities, that they thought they were rather the workes of gods then men; or at least the gods had taught vs how to make them, which loued vs so much better then them; and caused many of them [to] giue credit to what we spake concerning our God. In all places where I came, I did my best to make his immortall glory knowne. And I told them, although the Bible I shewed them, contained all; yet of it selfe, it was not of any such vertue as I thought they did conceiue. Notwithstanding many would be glad to touch it, to kisse, and imbrace it, to hold it to their breasts and heads, and stroke all their body over with it.

The King *Wingina* where we dwelt, would oft be with vs at Prayer. Twice he was exceeding sicke and like to dye. And doubting of any helpe from his Priests, thinking he was in such danger for offending vs and our God, sent for some of vs to pray, and be a meanes to our God, he might liue with him after death. And so did many other in the like case. [1585-6] Their desire of salvation.

One other strange Accident (leauing others) will I mention before I end, which mooued the whole Country that either knew or heard of vs, to haue vs in wonderfull admiration.

There was no Towne where they had practised any villany against vs (we leaving it vnpunished, because we sought by all possible meanes to winne them by gentlenes) but within a few dayes after our departure, they began to dye; in some Townes twenty, in some forty, in some sixty, and in one an hundred and twenty, which was very many in respect of their numbers. And this hapned in no place (we could learn) where we had bin, but where they had vsed some practise to betray vs. And this disease was so strange, they neither knew what it was, nor how to cure it; nor had they knowne the like time out of minde; a thing specially observed by vs, as also by themselues, in so much that some of them who were our friends, especially *Wingina*, had observed such effects in foure or fiue Townes, that they were perswaded it was the worke of God through our meanes: and that we by him might kill and slay whom we would, without weapons, and not come [12] neare them. And therevpon, when they had any vnderstanding, that any of their enemies abused vs in our Iourneyes, they would intreat vs, we would be a meanes to our God, that they, as the others that had dealt ill with vs, might dye in like sort: although we shewed them their requests were vngodly; and that our GOD would not subiect himselfe to any such requests of men, but all things as he pleased came to passe: and that we to shew our selues his true servants, ought rather to pray for the contrary: yet because the effect fell out so suddenly after, according to their desires, they thought it came to passe by our meanes, and would come giue vs thankes in their manner, that though we satisfied them not in words, yet in deeds we had fulfilled their desires. A wonderfull Accident.

[1585-6] Their strange opinions.

This marueilous Accident in all the Country wrought so strange opinions of vs, that they could not tell whether to thinke vs gods or men. And the rather that all the space of their sicknesse, there was no man of ours knowne to die, or much sicke. They noted also we had no women, nor cared for any of theirs: some therefore thought we were not borne of women, and therefore not mortall, but that we were men of an old generation many yeares past, and risen againe from immortalitie. Some would Prophesie there were more of our generation yet to come, to kill theirs and take their places. Those that were to come after vs they imagined to be in the ayre, yet invisible and without bodies: and that they by our intreaties, for loue of vs, did make the people die as they did, by shooting invisible bullets into them.

To confirme this, their Physicians to excuse their Ignorance in curing the disease, would make the simple people beleeue, that the strings of bloud they sucked out of the sicke bodies, were the strings wherein the invisible bullets were tyed, and cast. Some thought we shot them our selues from the place where we dwelt, and killed the people that had offended vs, as we listed, how farre distant soever. And others said it was the speciall worke of God for our sakes, as we had cause in some sort to thinke no lesse, whatsoever some doe, or may imagine to the contrary; especially some *Astrologers* by the eclipse of the Sunne we saw that yeare [1584] before our Voyage, and by a *Comet* which began to appeare but a few dayes before the sicknesse began: but to exclude them from being the speciall causes of so speciali an Accident, there are farther reasons then I thinke fit to present or alledge.

These their opinions I haue set downe, that you may see there is hope to imbrace the truth, and honor, obey, feare and loue vs, by good dealing and government: though some of our company towards the latter end, before we came away with Sir *Francis Drake* shewed themselues too furious, in slaying some of the people in some Townes, vpon causes that on our part might haue bin borne with more mildnesse; notwithstanding they iustly had deserued it. The best neverthelesse in this, as in all actions besides, is to be indevoured and hoped; and of the worst that may

happen, notice to be taken with consideration; and as much as may be eschewed; the better to allure them hereafter to Civilitie and Christianitie. [1585-6]

Thus you may see, *How*

Nature her selfe delights her selfe in sundry Instruments, *Palling.*
That sundry things be done to decke the earth with Ornaments;
Nor suffers she her servants all should runne one race,
But wills the walke of every one frame in a divers pace;
That divers wayes and divers workes, the world might better grace.

Written by *Thomas Heriot*, one of the Voyage.

How Sir Richard Grenvill *went to relieue them.*

IN the yeare of our Lord 1586. Sir *Walter Raleigh* and his Associates prepared a ship of a hundred tun, fraughted plentifully of all things necessary: but before [**13**] they set sayle from *England* it was *Easter* [3 *April*]. And arriving at *Hatorask*, they after some time spent in seeking the *Collony* vp in the Country, and not finding them, returned with all the provision againe to *England.* 1586.

About 14. or 15. dayes after, Sir *Richard Grenvill* accompanied with three ships well appoynted, arrived there. Who not finding the aforesaid ship according to his expectation, nor hearing any newes of the *Collony* there seated, and left by him as is said 1585. travailing vp and downe to seeke them, but when he could heare no newes of them, and found their habitation abandoned, vnwilling to lose the possession of the Country, after good deliberation he landed fiftie men in the Ile of *Roanoak*, plentifully furnished with all manner of provision for two yeares: and so returned for *England.* Sir *Richard Grenvill* left fiftie men.

[1586-7] Where many began strangely to discant of those crosse beginnings, and him; which caused me remember an old saying of *Euripides.*

Who broacheth ought thats new, to fooles vntaught,
Himselfe shall iudged be vnwise, and good for naught.

Three Ships more sent to relieue them by Master White.

Master *White* his Voyages. 1587.

WE went the old course by the west *Indies*, and *Simon Ferdinando* our continuall Pilot mistaking *Virginia* for Cape *Fear*, we fayled not much to haue beene cast away, vpon the conceit of our all-knowing *Ferdinando*, had it not beene prevented by the vigilancy of Captaine *Stafford*. We came to *Hatorask* the 22. of Iuly [1587], and with fortie of our best men, intending at *Roanoack* to find the 50 men left by Sir *Richard Grenvill*. But we found nothing but the bones of a man, and where the Plantation had beene, the houses vnhurt, but overgrowne with weeds, and the Fort defaced; which much perplexed vs.

By the History it seemes *Simon Ferdinando* did what he could to bring this voyage to confusion; but yet they all arrived at *Hatorask*. They repayred the old houses at *Roano[a]ck*, and Master *George How*, one of the Councell, stragling abroad, was slaine by the Salvages. Not long after Master *Stafford* with 20. men went to *Croatan* with *Manteo*, whose friends dwelled there: of whom we thought to haue some newes of our 50 men. They at first made shew to fight, but when they heard *Manteo*, they threw away their Armes, and were friends, and desired there might be a token giuen to be knowne by, least we might hurt them by misprision, as the yeare before one had bin by Master *Layne*, that was ever their friend, and there present yet lame.

One of the Councell slaine.

The next day we had conference with them concerning the people of *Secotan*, *Aquascogoc*, and *Pomeiok*, willing them of *Croatan* to see if they would accept our friendship, and renew our old acquaintance: which they willingly imbraced, and promised to bring their King and Governours to *Roanoak*, to confirme it. We also vnderstood that Master *Howe* was slaine by the men of *Wingina*, of *Dassamonpeack*: and by them of *Roanoack*, that the fiftie men left by Sir *Richard Grenvill*, were suddainly set vpon by three hundred of *Secotan*, *Aquascogoc*, and *Dassamonpeack*. First they intruded themselues among 11 of them by friendship, one they slew, the rest retyring to their houses, they set them on fire, that our men with what came next to hand were forced to make their passage among them; where one of them was shot in the mouth, and presently dyed, and a Salvage slaine by him. On both sides more were hurt; but our men retyring to the water side, got their boat, and ere they had rowed a quarter of a myle towards *Hatorask*, they tooke vp foure of their fellowes, gathering Crabs and Oysters: at last they landed on a little Ile by *Hatorask*, where they remained a while, but after departed they [**14**] knew not whether. So taking our leaues of the *Croatans*, we came to our Fleet at *Hatorask*. [1587]

How the fiftie men were slaine.

The Governour having long expected the King and Governours of *Pomeiok*, *Secotan*, *Aquascogoc*, and *Dassamonpeack*, and the 7. dayes expired, and no newes of them; being also informed by those of *Croatan*, that they of *Dassamonpeack* slew Master *How*, and were at the driving [of] our men from *Roanoack* he thought no longer to deferre the revenge. Wherefore about midnight, with Captaine *Stafford*, and twentie-foure men, whereof *Manteo* was one, for our guide, (that behaved himselfe towards vs as a most faithfull English man) he set forward.

The next day by breake of day we landed, and got beyond their houses, where seeing them sit by the fire we assaulted them. The miserable soules amazed fled into the Reeds, where one was shot through, and we thought to haue beene fully revenged, but we were deceiued, for they were our friends come from *Croatan* to gather their corne, because they vnderstood our enemies were fled after the death of Master *How*, and left all behinde them for

An ill misprision

[1587] the birds. But they had like to haue payd too deare for it, had we not chanced vpon a *Weroances* wife, with a childe at her backe, and a Salvage that knew Captaine *Stafford*, that ran to him calling him by his name. Being thus disappointed of our purpose, we gathered the fruit we found ripe, left the rest vnspoyled, and tooke *Menatonon* his wife with her childe, and the rest with vs to *Roanoak*. Though this mistake grieued *Manteo*, yet he imputed it to their own folly, because they had not kept promise to come to the governor at the day appointed.

The 13. of August our Salvage *Manteo* was Christened, and called Lord of *Dassamonpeack*, in reward of his faithfulnesse.

A child borne in *Virginia*.

And the 18th, *Ellinor* the Governours daughter, and wife to *Ananias Dare*, was delivered of a daughter in *Roanoak*; which being the first Christian there borne, was called *Virginia*.

Our ships being ready to depart, such a storme arose, as the Admirall was forced to cut her Cables: and it was six dayes ere she could recover the shore, that made vs doubt she had beene lost, because the most of her best men were on shore.

A controversie who to send for Factor to *England*.

At this time Controversies did grow betwixt our Governour and the Assistants, about choosing one of them 12. to goe as Factor for them all to *England*; for all refused save one, whom all men thought most insufficient: the Conclusion was by a generall consent, they would haue the Governour goe himselfe, for that they thought none would so truly procure the[i]re supplyes as he. Which though he did what he could to excuse it, yet their importunitie would not cease till he vndertooke it, and had it vnder all their hands how vnwilling he was, but that necessity and reason did doubly constraine him.

At their setting sayle for *England*, waighing Anchor, twelue of the men in the flyboat were throwne from the Capstern, by the breaking of a barre, and most of them so hurt, that some never recovered it. The second time they had the like fortune, being but 15. they cut the Cable and kept company with their Admirall to *Flowres* and *Coruos*; the Admirall stayed there looking for purchase: but the flyboats men grew so weake they were driuen to *Smerwick* in the West of *Ireland*. The Governour went for *England*; and *Simon Ferdinando* with much adoe at last arrived at *Portsmouth*. 1587.

The Names of those [who] were landed in this Plantation were, [1587-9]

Iohn White Governour.
Roger Bayley.
Ananias Dare.
Simon Ferdinando.
Christopher Couper.
Thomas Stevens.
Iohn Samson.
Thomas Smith.
Dionis Haruie.
Roger Prat.
George How.
Antony Cage.

With divers others to the number of about 115. [15]

The fift Voyage to Virginia; *vndertaken by* *Master* Iohn VVhite. 1589.

1589. Master *White* his returne to *Virginia.*

THe 20. of March three ships went from *Plimouth*, and passed betwixt *Barbary* and *Mogadoro* to *Dominico* in the West *Indies*. After we had done some exployts in those parts, the third of August [1587] wee fell with the low sandy Iles westward of *Wokokon*. But by reason of ill weather it was the 11, ere we could Anchor there; and on the 12. we came to *Croatan*, where is a great breach in 35 degrees and a halfe, in the Northeast poynt of the Ile. The 15. we came to *Hatorask* in 36. degrees and a terse, at 4. fadom, 3. leagues from shore: where we might perceiue a smoake at the place where I left the Colony, 1587.

The next morning Captaine *Cooke*, Captaine *Spicer*, and their companies, with two boats left our ships, and [we] discharged some Ordnance to giue them notice of our comming, but when we came there, we found no man, nor signe of any that had beene there lately: and so returned to our Boats.

The next morning we prepared againe for *Roanoack*.

[1589] Captaine *Spicer* had then sent his Boat ashore for water, so it was ten of the Clocke ere we put from the ships, which rode two myles from the shore. The Admirals boat, being a myle before the other, as she passed the bar, a sea broke into the boat and filled her halfe full of water: but by Gods good will, and the carefull stearage of Captaine *Cook*, though our provisions were much wet we safe escaped, the wind blew hard at Northeast, which caused so great a current and a breach vpon the barre; Captaine *Spicer* passed halfe over, but by the indiscreet steering of *Ralph Skinner*, their boat was overset, the men that could catch hold hung about her, the next sea cast her on ground, where some let goe their hold to wade to shore, but the sea beat them downe. The boat thus tossed vp and downe Captaine *Spicer* and *Skinner* hung there till they were drowne; but 4. that could swim a little, kept themselues in deeper water, were saued by the meanes of Captaine *Cook*, that presently vpon the oversetting of their boat, shipped himselfe to saue what he could. Thus of eleuen, seuen of the chiefest were drowned.

Captaine *Spicer* and seauen others drowned.

This so discomfited all the Saylers, we had much to do to get them any more to seeke further for the Planters, but by their Captaines forwardnes at last they fitted themselues againe for *Hatorask* in 2 boats, with 19 persons. It was late ere we arrived, but seeing a fire through the woods, we sounded a Trumpet, but no answer could we heare. The next morning we went to it, but could see nothing but the grasse, and some rotten trees burning. We went vp and downe the Ile, and at last found three faire Romane Letters carved. *C.R.O.* which presently we knew to signifie the place where I should find them, according to a secret note betweene them and me: which was to write the name of the place they would be in, vpon some tree, dore, or post: and if they had beene in any distresse, to signifie it by making a crosse over it. For at my departure they intended to goe fiftie myles into the mayne. But we found no signe of distresse; then we went to a place where they were left in sundry houses, but we found them all taken downe, and the place strongly inclosed with a high Palizado, very Fortlike; and in one of the chiefe Posts carued in fayre capitall Letters *CROATAN*,

without any signe of distresse, and many barres of Iron, two pigs of Lead, foure Fowlers, Iron shot, and such like heauie things throwne here and there, overgrowne with grasse and weeds. We went by the shore to seeke for their boats but could find none, nor any of the Ordnance I left them. At last some of the Sailers found divers Chists had beene hidden and digged vp againe, and much of the goods spoyled, and scattered vp and downe, which when I saw, I knew three of them to be my owne; but bookes, pictures, and all things els were spoyled. Though it much grieued me, yet it did much comfort me that I did know they were at *Croatan*; so we returned to our Ships, but had like to haue bin cast away by a great storme that continued all that night. [16] [1589]

They finde where they had buryed their provisions.

The next morning we weighed Anchor for *Croatan*: having the Anchor a-pike, the Cable broke, by the meanes whereof we lost another: letting fall the third, the ship yet went so fast a drift, we sayled not much there to haue split. But God bringing vs into deeper water; considering we had but one Anchor, and our provision neare spent, we resolued to goe forthwith to S. *Iohns* Ile, *Hispaniola*, or *Trinidado*, to refresh our selues and seeke for purchase that Winter, and the next Spring come againe to seeke our Country-men. But our *Vice Admirall* would not, but went directly for *England*, and we our course for *Trinidado*.

But within two dayes after, the wind changing, we were constrained for the Westerne Iles to refresh our selues, where we met with many of the Queenes ships, our owne consort, and divers others, the 23. of September 1590.

And thus we left seeking our Colony, that was neuer any of them found, nor seene to this day 1622. [*This fixes the date of the compilation by* Smith *of this part of the* General History &c.] And this was the conclusion of this Plantation, after so much time, labour, and charge consumed. Whereby we see;

The end of this Plantation.

Not all at once, nor all alike, nor ever hath it beene,
That God doth offer and confer his blessings vpon men.

Written by Master *Iohn White.*

1602. A briefe Relation of the Description of *Elizabeths* Ile, and some others towards the North part of *Virginia;* and what els they discovered in the yeare 1602. by Captaine *Bartholomew Gosnoll*, and Captaine *Bartholomew Gilbert;* and divers *other Gentlemen their Associates.*

[1602] 12. yeares it lay dead.

ALL hopes of *Virginia* thus abandoned, it lay dead and obscured from 1590. till this yeare 1602. that Captaine *Gosnoll*, with 32. and himselfe in a small Barke, set sayle from *Dartmouth* vpon the 26. of March. Though the wind favoured vs not at the first, but forced vs as far Southward as the *Asores*, which was not much out of our way; we ran directly west from thence, whereby we made our iourney shorter then heretofore by 500. leagues: the weaknesse of our ship, the badnes of our saylers, and our ignorance of the coast, caused vs carry but a low sayle, that made our passage longer then we expected.

On fryday the 11. of May [1602] we made land, it was somewhat low, where appeared certaine hummocks or hills in it: the shore white sand, but very rockie, yet overgrowne with fayre trees. Comming to an Anchor, 8 *Indians* in a Baske shallop, with mast and sayle came boldly aboord vs. It seemed by their signes and such things as they had, some Biskiners had fished there: being about the latitude of 43. But the harbour being naught, and

doubting the weather, we went not ashore, but waighed, and stood to the Southward into the Sea. [1602]

The next morning we found our selues imbayed with a mightie headland: within a league of the shore we anchored, and Captaine *Gosnoll*, my selfe, and three others went to it in our boat, being a white sand and a bold coast. Though the weather was hot, we marched to the highest hils we could see, where we perceiued this headland [to be] part of the mayn, neare invironed with Ilands. As we were returning to our ship, a good proper, lusty young man came to vs, with whom we had but small conference, and so we left him. Here in 5. or 6. houres we tooke more Cod then we knew what to doe with, which made vs perswade our selues, there might be found a good fishing in March, Aprill, and May. [17] Their first landing.

At length we came among these fayre Iles, some a league, 2. 3. 5. or 6. from the Mayne, by one of them we anchored. We found it foure myles in compasse, without house or inhabitant. In it is a lake neare a myle in circuit; the rest overgrowne with trees, which so well as the bushes, were so overgrowne with Vines, we could scarce passe them. And by the blossomes we might perceiue there would be plenty of Strawberries, Respises, Gousberries, and divers other fruits: besides, Deere and other Beasts we saw, and Cranes, Hernes, with divers other sorts of fowle; which made vs call it *Martha's Vineyard*. *Martha's* Vineyard.

The rest of the Isles are replenished with such like; very rocky, and much tinctured stone like Minerall. Though we met many *Indians*, yet we could not see their habitations: they gaue vs fish, Tobacco, and such things as they had.

But the next Isle we arrived at was but two leagues from the Maine, and 16. myle about, invironed so with creekes and coves, it seemed like many Isles linked together by small passages like bridges. In it is many places of plaine grasse, and such other fruits, and berries as before were mentioned. In mid-May we did sow Wheat, Barley, Oates, and Pease, which in 14. dayes sprung vp 9. inches. The soyle is fat and lusty: the crust therof gray, a foot or lesse in depth. It is full of high timbred Okes, their leaues thrise so broad as ours: *Elizabeths* Island.

[1602] Cedar straight and tall, Beech, Holly, Walnut, Hazell, Cherry trees like ours, but the stalke beareth the blossom or fruit thereof like a cluster of Grapes, forty or fiftie in a bunch. There is a tree of Orange colour, whose barke in the filing is as smooth as Velvet. There is a lake of fresh water three myles in compasse, [having] in the midst an Isle containing an acre or thereabout, overgrowne with wood: here are many Tortoises, and abundance of all sorts of foules, whose young ones we tooke and eate at our pleasure. Grounds nuts as big as egges, as good as Potatoes, and 40. on a string, not two ynches vnder ground. All sorts of shell-fish, as Schalops, Mussels, Cockles, Crabs, Lobsters, Welks, Oysters, exceeding good and very great; but not to cloy you with particulars, what God and nature hath bestowed on those places, I refer you to the Authors owne writing at large.

We called this Isle *Elizabeths* Isle, from whence we went right over to the mayne, where we stood a while as ravished at the beautie and dilicacy of the sweetnesse, besides divers cleare lakes, whereof we saw no end, and meadows very large and full of greene grasse, &c.

Here we espyed 7. Salvages, at first they expressed some feare, but by our courteous vsage of them, they followed vs to the necke of Land, which we thought had beene severed from the Mayne, but we found it otherwise. Here we imagined was a river, but because the day was farre spent, we left to discover it till better leasure. But of good Harbours, there is no doubt, considering the Land is all rocky and broken lands.

The next day we determined to fortifie our selues in the Isle in the lake. Three weekes we spent in building vs there a house. But the second day after our comming from the Mayne, 11. Canows with neare 50. Salvages came towards vs. Being vnwilling they should see our building, we went to [them], and exchanged with them Kniues, Hatchets, Beades, Bels, and such trifles, for some Bevers, Lyzards, Martins, Foxes, wilde Catte skinnes, and such like. We saw them haue much red Copper, whereof they make chaines, collars, and drinking cups, which they so little esteemed they would giue vs for small toyes, and signified vnto vs they had it out of the earth in the Mayne.

A Copper Mine.

Three dayes they stayed with vs, but every night retyred two or three myle from vs: after with many signes of loue and friendship they departed, seaven of them staying behind, that did helpe vs to dig and carry Saxafras, and doe any thing they could; being of a comely proportion and the best condition of any Salvages we had yet incountred. They haue no Beards but counterfeits, as they did thinke ours also was: for which they would haue changed with some of our men that had great beards. Some of the baser sort would steale; but the better sort, we found very civill and iust. We saw but three of their women, and they were but of meane stature, attyred in skins like the men, [**18**] but fat and well favoured. [1602]

The wholesomenesse and temperature of this climate, doth not onely argue the people to be answerable to this Description, but also of a perfect constitution of body, actiue, strong, healthfull, and very witty, as the sundry toyes by them so cunningly wrought may well testifie. For our selues, we found our selues rather increase in health and strength then otherwise: for all our toyle, bad dyet and lodging; yet not one of vs was touched with any sicknesse.

Twelue intended here a while to haue stayed, but vpon better consideration, how meanely we were provided, we left this Island (with as many true sorrowfull eyes as were before desirous to see it) the 18. of Iune, and arrived at *Exmouth*, the 23 of Iuly [1602]. Their returne.

But yet mans minde doth such it selfe explay,
As Gods great Will doth frame it every way.
And, *Such thoughts men haue, on earth that doe but liue,*
As men may craue, but God doth onely giue.

Written by *Iohn Brierton* one of the Voyage.

1603. ## *A Voyage of Captaine* Martin Pring, *with two Barks from* Bristow, *for the North part of* Virginia. 1603.

[1603] BY the inducements and perswasions of Master *Richard Hackluite*, Master *Iohn Whitson* being Maior, with his brethren the Aldermen, and most of the Merchants of the Citie of *Bristow*, raised a stocke of 1000*l.* to furnish out two Barkes, the one of 50. tuns, with 30. men and boyes, the other 26. tuns, with 13. men and boyes, having *Martin Pring* an vnderstanding Gentleman, and a sufficient Mariner for Captaine, and *Robert Salterne* his Assistant, who had bin with Captaine *Gosnoll* there the yeare before for Pilot.

Though they were much crossed by contrary windes vpon the coast of *England*, and the death of that ever most memorable miracle of the world, our most deare soveraigne Lady and Queene *Elizabeth*; yet at last they passed by the westerne Isles, and about the 7. of Iune [1603], fell vpon the north part of *Virginia*, about the degrees of fortie three. Where they found plentie of most sorts of fish, and saw a high country full of great woods of sundry sorts. As they ranged the coast at a place they named *Whitson Bay*, they were kindly vsed by the Natiues, that came to them, in troupes, of tens, twenties, and thirties, and sometimes more.

But because in this Voyage for most part they followed the course of Captaine *Gosnoll*, and haue made no relation but to the same effect he writ before, we will thus conclude;

Lay hands vnto this worke with all thy wit,
But pray that God would speed and perfit it.

Robert Salterne.

A relation of a Discovery towards the Northward of Virginia, *by Captaine* George Waymouth 1605. *imployed thether by the right Honorable* Thomas Arundell, *Baron of* Warder, *in the Raigne of our most royall King* IAMES.

1605.

[1605] UPon tuesday the fift of March we set sayle from *Ratcliffe*, but by contrary winds we were forced into *Dartmouth* till the last of this moneth, then with 29. as good sea men, and all necessary provisions as could possibly be gotten, we put [19] to sea; and the 24 of Aprill fell with *Flowres* and *Coruos*.

We intended as we were directed towards the Southward of 39. But the winds so crossed vs wee fell more Northwards about 41. and 20. minuits, we sounded at 100. fathom, and by that we had run 6 leagues we had but 5. yet saw no land; from the mayne top we descryed a whitish sandy clift, West North-west some 6. leagues from vs, but ere we had run two leagues further we found many shoules and breaches, sometimes in 4. fadom and the next throw 15. or 18. Being thus imbayed among those shoules, we were constrained to put back againe, which we did with no small danger, though both the winde and weather were as fayre as we could desire.

Dangerous shoules.

Thus we parted from the Land, which we had not before so much desired, and at the first sight reioyced, as now we all ioyfully praysed God that he had delivered vs from so eminent danger. Here we found excellent Cod, and saw many Whales as we had done 2. or 3. daies before.

Cod and Whales.

Being thus constrained to put to sea, the want of wood and water caused vs to take the best advantage of the winde, to fall with the shore wheresoever: but we found our Sea-cards most directly false. The 17. of May we made the Land againe, but it blew so hard, we durst not approach it. The next day [18 *May* 1605] it appeared to vs a mayne high land, but we found it an Island of 6. myles in compasse: within a league of it we came to an anchor, and went on shore for wood and water, of which we found

[1605] Their first landing. sufficient. The water gushing forth downe the rocky clifts in many places, which are all overgrown with Firre, Birch, Beech, and Oke, as the Verge is with Gousberries, Strawberries, wild Pease, and Rose bushes, and much foule of divers sorts that breed among the rockes: here as in all places els where we came, we found Cod enough.

From hence we might discerne the mayne land and very high mountaines, the next day because we rode too open to the Sea, we waighed, and came to the Isles adioyning to the mayn: among which we found an excellent rode, defended from all windes, for ships of any burthen, in 6. 7. 8. 9. or 10. fadom vpon aclay oze. This was vpon a Whitsonday [19 *May* 1605], wherefore we called it *Pentecost Harbour*.

Pentecost harbour.

The Captains diligence. Here I cannot omit for foolish feare of imputation of flattery, the painfull industry of our Captaine, who as at Sea he was alwayes most carefull and vigilant, so at land he refused no paines: but his labour was ever as much or rather more then any mans; which not onely incouraged others with better content, but also effected much with great expedition. We digged a Garden the 22. of May, where among our garden-seeds we sowed Pease and Barley, which in 16. dayes grew vp 8. ynches, although this was but the crust of the ground, and much inferiour to the mould we after found in the mayne.

After we had taken order for all our necessary businesses, we marched through two of these Isles. The biggest was 4. or 5. myles in compasse; we found here all sorts of ordinary trees, besides, Vines, Currants, Spruce, Yew, Angelica, and divers gummes: in so much many of our company wished themselues setled here.

Vpon the 30. our Captaine with 13. went to discover the mayne: we in the ship espyed 3. Canowes that came towards the ship. Which after they had well viewed, one of them came aboord with 3. men, and by our good vsage of them not long after the rest, two dayes we had their companies, in all respects they are but like them at *Elizabeths* Isles, therefore this may suffice for their description. In this time our Captain had discovered a fayre river, trending into the mayne 40. myles, and returned backe to bring in the ship.

The Salvages also kept their words and brought vs 40. Bever, Otter, and sable skins, for the value of 5. shillings in

kniues, glasses, combes, and such toyes, and thus we vsed them so kindly as we could, because we intended to inhabit in their Country: they lying aboord with vs and we ashore with them; but it was but as changing man for man as hostages, and in this manner many times we had their companies. [1605]

Trade with the Salvages.

At last they desired our Captaine to goe with them to the mayne to trade with their *Bashabes*, which is their chiefe Lord, which we did, our boat well manned with [**20**] 14. yet would they row faster with 3. Ores in their Canowes then we with 8. but when we saw our old acquaintance would not stay aboord vs as before for hostage, but did what they could to draw vs into a narrow cirke [*creek*], we exchanged one *Owen Griffin* with them for a yong fellow of theirs, that he might see if he could discover any trechery: as he did, for he found there assembled 283. Salvages with bowes and arrows, but not any thing at all to trade as they pretended.

Their trechery.

These things considered, we conceited them to be but as all Salvages ever had beene, kinde till they found opportunitie to do mischiefe. Wherefore we determined to take some of them, before they should suspect we had discovered their plot, lest they should absent themselues from vs: so the first that ever after came into the ship were three which we kept, and two we tooke on shore with much adoe, with two Canowes, their bowes and arrowes.

Fiue Salvages surprised.

Some time we spent in sounding all the Isles, channels, and inlets thereabouts; and we found 4. severall waies a ship might be brought into this Bay.

In the interim there came 2. Canowes more boldly aboord vs, signifying we should bring our ship to the place where he dwelt to trade. We excused our selues why we could not, but used them kindly, yet got them away with all the speed we could that they should not be perceiued by them in the houle [*hold*]; then we went vp the river 26. myles: of which I had rather not write, then by my relation detract from it, it is in breadth a myle, neare 40. myles; and a channell of 6. 7. 8. 9. or 10. fadom, and on both sides every halfe myle gallant Coues, to containe in many of them 100 sayle, where they may lye on Oze without Cable or Anchor, onely mored with a Hanser, and it floweth 18. foot, that you may make, docke, or carine ships with much

A description of the river.

[1605] facilitie: besides the land is most rich, trending all along on both sides in an equall plaine, neither rocky nor mountainous, but verged with a greene border of grasse, doth make tender to the beholder her pleasant fertilitie, if by cleansing away the woods she were converted into meadow. The woods are great, and tall, such as are spoken of in the Islands, and well watered with many fresh springs. Our men that had seene *Oranoque* so famous in the worlds eares, *Reogrande*, *Loyer*, and *Slion*, report, though they be great and goodly rivers, yet are not comparable to it.

Leaving our ship we went higher, till we were 7. myles higher than the salt water flowed; we marched towards the mountains we had seene, but the weather was so hot, and our labour so great, as our Captaine was contented to returne: after we had erected a crosse we left this faire land and river, in which the higher we went the better we liked it, and returned to our ship.

By the way we met a Canow that much desired one of our men to go vp to their *Basshabes*, but we knew their intents, and so turned them off; and though we had both time and provision to haue discovered much more, and might haue found peradventure good trade, yet because our company was but small, we would not hazzard so hopefull a businesse as this was, either for our private, or particular ends, being more regardfull of a publicke good, and promulgating Gods holy Church by planting Christianity, which was the intent of our adventurers so well as ours.

Returning by the Isles in the entry of the Sound we called them St. *Georges* Isles; and because on sunday we set out of *England*, on sunday also the 16. of Iune we departed hence. When we had run 30. leagues we had 40. fadom, then 70. then 100. After 2. or 3. watches more we were in 24. fadoms, where we tooke so much Cod as we did know what to doe with, and the 18. of Iuly [1605] came to *Dartmouth*, and all our men as well God be thanked as when they went forth. Thus may you see;

God hath not all his gifts bestowed on all or any one,
Words sweetest, and wits sharpest, courage, strength of bone;
All rarities of minde and parts doe all concurre in none.

Written by *Iames Rosier*, one of the Voyage. [21]

A reprint, with variations, of the First Part of The Map of Virginia, 1612.

The second Booke.

THE SIXT VOYAGE. 1606.

1606.

To another part of *Virginia*, where now are Planted our *English Colonies*, Whom God increase and preserue: Discovered and Described by Captain IOHN SMITH, sometimes *Governour of the Countrey.*

BY these former relations you may see what inconveniences still crossed those good intents, and how great a matter it was all this time to finde but a Harbour, although there be so many. But this *Virginia* is a Country in *America* betweene the degrees of 34. and 45. of the North latitude. The bounds thereof on the East side are the great *Ocean*: on the South lyeth *Florida*: on the North *nova Francia*: as for the West thereof, the limits are vnknowne. Of all this Country we purpose not to speake, but onely of that part which was planted by the *English men* in the yeare of our Lord, 1606[–7]. *And this is vnder the degrees* 37. 38. *and* 39. The temperature of this Country doth agree well with *English* constitutions, being once seasoned to the Country. Which appeared by this, that though by many occasions our people fell sicke; yet did they recover by very small meanes, and continued in health, though there were other great causes, not onely to haue made them sicke, but even to end their dayes, &c.

[1606-7

[p. 47.]

The latitude.

[1607–9] The temperature. The Sommer is hot as in *Spaine*; the Winter cold as in *France* or *England*. The heat of sommer is in Iune, Iuly, and August, but commonly the coole Breeses asswage the vehemency of the heat. The chiefe of winter is halfe December, Ianuary, February, and halfe March. The colde is extreame sharpe, but here the Proverbe is true, that *no extreame long continueth*.

[*p.* 48] In the yeare 1607[–8]. was an extraordinary frost in most of *Europe*, and this frost was found as extreame in *Virginia*. But the next yeare for 8. or 10. dayes of ill weather, other 14. dayes would be as Sommer.

The windes. The windes here are variable, but the like thunder and lightning to purifie the ayre, I haue seldome either seene or heard in *Europe*. From the Southwest came the greatest gusts with thunder and heat. The Northwest winde is commonly coole and bringeth faire weather with it. From the North is the greatest cold, and from the East and Southeast as from the *Barmudas*, fogs and raines.

Some times there are great droughts, other times much raine, yet great necessitie of neither, by reason we see not but that all the raritie of needfull fruits in *Europe*, may be there in great plentie, by the industry of men, as appeareth by those we there Planted.

The entrances. There is but one entrance by Sea into this Country, and that is at the mouth of a very goodly Bay, 18. or 20. myles broad. The cape on the South is called *Cape Henry*. *Cape Henry*, in honour of our most noble Prince. The land white hilly sands like vnto the Downes, and all along the shores great plentie of Pines and Firres.

Cape Charles. The north *Cape* is called *Cape Charles*, in honour of the worthy Duke of *Yorke*. The Isles before it, *Smith's* Isles, by the name of the discover[er].

The Country. Within is a country that [**22**] may haue the prerogatiue over the most pleasant places knowne, for large and pleasant navigable Rivers, heaven and earth never agreed better to frame a place for mans habitation; were it fully manured and inhabited by industrious people. Here are mountaines, hils, plaines, valleyes, rivers, and brookes, all running most pleasantly into a faire Bay, compassed but for the mouth, with fruitfull and delightsome land. In the Bay and rivers are many Isles both great and small, some woody, some

plaine, most of them low and not inhabited. This Bay lyeth North and South, in which the water floweth neare 200. myles, and hath a channell for 140 myles, of depth betwixt 6 and 15 fadome, holding in breadth for the most part 10 or 14 myles. From the head of the Bay to the Northwest, the land is mounta[i]nous, and so in a manner from thence by a Southwest line; So that the more Southward, the farther off from the Bay are those mountaines. From which fall certaine brookes which after come to fiue principall navigable rivers. These run from the Northwest into the South east, and so into the West side of the Bay, where the fall [*outfall*] of every River is within 20 or 15 myles one of another. [1607–9] [p. 49.]

The mountaines are of divers natures: for at the head of the Bay the rockes are of a composition like Mill stones. Some of Marble, &c. And many peeces like Christall we found, as throwne downe by water from those mountaines. For in Winter they are covered with much snow, and when it dissolveth the waters fall with such violence, that it causeth great inundations in some narrow valleyes, which is scarce perceived being once in the rivers. These waters wash from the rocks such glistering tinctures, that the ground in some places seemeth as guilded, where both the rocks and the earth are so splendent to behold, *that better iudgements then ours might haue beene perswaded, they contained more then probabilities.* The mountaines

The vesture of the earth in most places doth manifestly proue the nature of the soyle to be lusty and very rich. The colour of the earth we found in diverse places, resembleth *bole Armoniac*, *terra sigillata*, and *Lemnia*, Fullers earth, Marle, and divers other such appearances. But generally for the most part it is a blacke sandy mould, in some places a fat slimy clay, in other places a very barren gravell. But the best ground is knowne by the vesture it beareth, as by the greatnesse of trees, or abundance of weeds, &c. The soyle.

The Country is not mounta[i]nous, nor yet low, but such pleasant plaine hils, and fertile valleyes, one prettily crossing another, and watered so conveniently with fresh brookes and springs, no lesse commodious, then delightsome. By the rivers are many plaine marishes, contain- The valleyes.

[1607-9] ing some 20. some 100. some 200 Acres, some more, some lesse. Other plaines there are few, but onely where the Salvages inhabit: but all [is] overgrowne with trees and weeds, being a plaine wildernesse as God first made it.

Plaines.

On the west side of the Bay, we sayd were 5. faire and delightfull navigable rivers.

[p. 50.]

The first of those, and the next to the mouth of the Bay hath his course from the West Northwest. It is called *Powhatan*, according to the name of a principall country that lyeth vpon it. The mouth of this river is neare three myles in breadth, *yet doe the shoules force the Channell so neare the land, that a Sacre will overshoot it at point blanke* [*i.e.*, less than 520 paces, *see p.* 801]. *It is navigable* 150 *myles, the shouldes and soundings are here needlesse to be expressed.* It falleth from Rockes farre west in a Country inhabited by a nation they call *Monacans*. But where it commeth into our discovery it is *Powhatan*. In the farthest place that was diligently observed, are falles, rockes, shoules, &c. which makes it past navigation *any higher*. Thence in the running downeward, the river is enriched with many goodly brookes, which are maintained by an infinit number of small rundles and pleasant springs, that disperse themselues for best service, as do the veines of a mans body.

The river *Powhatan*.

The branches.

From the South there fals into it: First, the pleasant river of *Apamatuck*. Next more to the East are two small rivers of *Quiyoughcohanocke*. A little farther is a Bay wherein falleth 3 or 4 prettie brookes and creekes that halfe intrench the Inhabitants of *Warraskoyac*, then the river of *Nandsamund*, and lastly the brooke of *Chisapeack*.

From the North side is the river of *Chickahamania*, the backe river of *Iames* Towne; another by the *Cedar Isle*, where we liued ten weekes vpon Oysters, then a convenient harbour for Fisher boats at *Kecoughtan*, that so turneth it selfe into [**23**] Bayes and Creekes, it makes that place very pleasant to inhabit; their cornefields being girded therein in a manner as *Peninsulaes*.

The most of these rivers are inhabited by severall nations, or rather families, of the name of the rivers. They haue also over those some Governour, as their King, which they call *Werowances*.

In a *Peninsula* on the North side of this river are the

English Planted in a place by them called *Iames* Towne, in honour of the Kings most excellent Maiestie. [1607–9] *Iames Towne.* [*p.* 51.]

The first and next the rivers mouth are the *Kecoughtans*, who besides their women and children, haue not past 20. fighting men. The *Paspaheghes* (on whose land is seated *Iames* Towne, some 40. myles from the *Bay*) haue not past 40. The river called *Chickahamania* [has] neare 250. The *Weanocks* 100. The *Arrowhatocks* 30. The place called *Powhatan*, some 40. On the South side this river the *Appamatucks* haue sixtie fighting men. The *Quiyougcohanocks* 25. The *Nandsamunds* 200. The *Chesapeacks* 100. Of this last place the *Bay* beareth the name. In all these places is a severall commander, which they call *Werowance*, except the *Chickahamanians*, who are governed by the Priests and their Assistants, or their Elders called *Caw-cawwassoughes*. In sommer no place affordeth more plentie of *Sturgeon*, nor in winter more abundance of foule, especially in the time of frost. I tooke once 52 Sturgeons at a draught, at another 68. From the later end of May till the end of Iune are taken few, but yong Sturgeons of two foot or a yard long. From thence till the midst of September, them of two or three yards long and few others. And in 4 or 5, houres with one Net were ordinarily taken 7 or 8: often more, seldome lesse. In the small rivers all the yeare there is good plentie of small fish, so that with hookes those that would take paines had sufficient. The severall Inhabitants.

Foureteene myles Northward from the river *Powhatan*, is the river *Pamavnkee*, *which is navigable* 60 *or* 70 *myles*, *but with Catches and small Barkes* 30 *or* 40 *myles farther*. At the ordinary flowing of the salt water, it divideth it selfe into two gallant branches. R. *Pamavnkee.*

On the South side inhabit the people of *Youghtanund*, who haue about 60 men for warres. On the North branch *Mattapament*, who haue 30 men. Where this river is divided the Country is called *Pamavnkee*, and nourisheth neare 300 able men. About 25. myles lower on the North side of this river is *Werawocomoco*, where their great King inhabited when I was delivered him prisoner; yet there are not past 40 able men. Ten or twelue myles lower, on the South side of this river, is *Chiskiack*, which hath [*p.* 52.] The inhabitants.

[1607–9] some 40 or 50 men. These, as also *Apamatuck*, *Irrohatock*, and *Powhatan*, are their great Kings chiefe alliance, and inhabitants. The rest his Conquests.

Payankatank, R. Before we come to the third river that falleth from the mountaines, there is another river (*some* 30 *myles navigable*) that commeth from the Inland, called *Payankatanke*, the Inhabitants are about 50 or 60 serviceable men.

Toppahanock R. The third navigable river is called *Toppahanock*. (*This is navigable some* 130 *myles*). At the top of it inhabit the people called *Mannahoacks* amongst the mountaines, but they are aboue the place we described.

The inhabitants. Vpon this river on the North side are the people *Cuttatawomen*, with 30 fighting men. Higher are the *Moraughtacunds*, with 80. Beyond them *Rapahanock* with 100. Far aboue is another *Cuttatawomen* with 20. On the South is the pleasant seat of *Nantaughtacund* having 150 men. This river also as the two former, is replenished with fish and foule.

Patawomek, R. The fourth river is called *Patawomeke*, 6 or 7 myles in breadth. *It is navigable* 140 *myles*, and fed as the rest with many sweet rivers and springs, which fall from the bordering hils. These hils many of them are planted, and yeeld no lesse plentie and varietie of fruit, then the river exceedeth with abundance of fish.

The inhabitants. It is inhabited on both sides. First on the South side at the very entrance is *Wighcocomoco* and hath some 130 men, beyond them *Sekacawone* with 30. The *Onawmanient* with 100. And the *Patawomekes* more then 200.

Here doth the river divide it selfe into 3 or 4 convenient branches. The greatest of the least is called *Quiyough*, trending North-west, but the river it selfe turneth North-east, and is still a navigable streame. On the Westerne side of this bought is *Tauxenent* with 40 men. On the North of this river is *Secowocomoco* with 40. Somewhat further *Potapaco* with 20. In the East part is *Pamacaeack* [**24**] with 60. After *Moyowance* with 100. And lastly, *Nacotchtanke* with 80. The river aboue this place maketh [*p.* 53.] his passage downe a low pleasant valley overshaddowed in many places with high rocky mountaines; from whence distill innumerable sweet and pleasant springs.

Pawtuxunt, R. The fift river is called *Pawtuxunt*, of a lesse proportion then the rest; but the channell is 16 fadome deepe in

some places. Here are infinit skuls of divers kindes of fish more then elswhere. [1607-9]

Vpon this river dwell the people called *Acquintanacksuak*, *Pawtuxunt*, and *Mattapanient*. Two hundred men was the greatest strength that could be there perceived. But they inhabit together, and not so dispersed as the rest. These of all other we found most civill to giue intertainement.

Thirtie leagues Northward is a river not inhabited, yet navigable; for the red clay resembling *bole Armoniack* we called it *Bolus*. *Bolus*, R.

At the end of the Bay where it is 6 or 7 myles in breadth, it divides it selfe into 4. branches, the best commeth Northwest from among the mountaines, but though Canows may goe a dayes iourney or two vp it, we could not get two myles vp it with our boat for rockes. The head of the Bay.

Vpon it is seated the *Sasquesahanocks*, neare it North and by West runneth a creeke a myle and a halfe: at the head whereof the Ebbe left vs on shore, where we found many trees cut with hatchets. The next tyde keeping the shore to seeke for some Salvages; (for within thirtie leagues sayling, we saw not any, being a barren Country,) we went vp another small river like a creeke 6 or 7 myle. From thence returning we met 7 Canowes of the *Massowomeks*, with whom we had conference by signes, for we vnderstood one another scarce a word: the next day we discovered the small river and people of *Tockwhogh* trending Eastward. *Sasquesahanock.*

Having lost our Grapnell among the rocks of *Sasquesahanocks*, we were then neare 200 myles from home, and our Barge about two tuns, and had in it but 12 men to performe this Discovery, wherein we lay aboue 12 weekes vpon those great waters in those vnknowne Countries, having nothing but a little meale, oatemeale and water to feed vs, and scarce halfe sufficient of that for halfe that time, but what provision we got among the Salvages, and such rootes and fish as we caught by accident and Gods direction; nor had we a Mariner nor any [that] had skill to trim the sayles but two saylers and my selfe, the rest being Gentlemen, or them [that] were as ignorant in such toyle and labour. Yet necessitie in a short time by good words and examples made them doe that that caused them ever

[1607–9] after to feare no colours. What I did with this small meanes I leaue to the Reader to iudge, and the Mappe I made of the Country, which is but a small matter in regard of the magnitude thereof.

But to proceed, 60 of those *Sasquesahanocks* came to
[*p.* 54.] vs with skins, Bowes, Arrows, Targets, Beads, Swords, and Tobacco pipes for presents. Such great and well proportioned men are seldome seene, for they seemed like Giants to the English, yea and to the neighbours, yet seemed of an honest and simple disposition, [and they were] with much adoe restrained from adoring vs as Gods. Those are the strangest people of all those Countries, both in language and attire; for their language it may well beseeme their proportions, sounding from them, as a voyce in a vault.

The description of a *Sasquesahanough.* Their attire is the skinnes of Beares, and Woolues, some haue Cassacks made of Beares heads and skinnes, that a mans head goes through the skinnes neck, and the eares of the Beare fastened to his shoulders, the nose and teeth hanging downe his breast, another Beares face split behind him, and at the end of the nose hung a Pawe, the halfe sleeues comming to the elbowes were the neckes of Beares, and the armes through the mouth; with pawes hanging at their noses. One had the head of a Woolfe hanging in a chaine for a Iewell, his Tobacco pipe three quarters of a yard long, prettily carued with a Bird, a Deere, or some such devise at the great end, sufficient to beat out ones braines: with Bowes, Arrowes, and clubs, su[i]table to their greatnesse.

These are scarce knowne to *Powhatan*. They can make neare 600 able men, and are pallisadoed in their Townes to defend them from the *Massawomekes* their mortall enemies. Fiue of their chiefe *Werowances* came aboord vs, and crossed the *Bay* in the Barge. The picture of the greatest of them is signified in the Mappe [*p.* 384]. The calfe of whose leg was three quarters of a yard about, [**25**] and all the rest of his limbes so answerable to that proportion, that he seemed the goodliest man we ever beheld. His hayre, the one side was long, the other shore close with a ridge over his crowne like a cocks combe. His arrowes were fiue quarters long, headed with the splinters of a white christall-like stone, in forme of a

heart, an inch broad, and an inch and a halfe or more long. These he wore in a Woolues skinne at his backe for his Quiver, his bow in the one hand and his clubbe in the other, as is described. [1607–9]

On the East side the *Bay*, is the river *Tockwhogh*, and vpon it a people that can make 100 men, seated some seaven myles within the river: where they haue a Fort very well pallisadoed and mantelled with barkes of trees. Next them is *Ozinies* with sixty men. More to the South of that East side of the *Bay*, the river *Rapahanock*, neere vnto which is the river *Kuskarawaock*. Vpon which is seated a people with 200 men. After that, is the river *Tants Wighcocomoco*, and on it a people with 100 men. [*p.* 55.] *Tockwhogh*, R. *Rapahanock*, R. *Kuskarawaock*, R. *Wighcocomoco*, R.

The people of those rivers are of little stature, of another language from the rest, and very rude. But they on the river *Acohanock* with 40 men, and they of *Accomack* 80 men doth equalize any of the Territories of *Powhatan*, and speake his language; who over all those doth rule as King. *Accomack*, R.

Southward we went to some parts of *Chawonock* and the *Mangoags* to search for them left by Master *White*. *Chawoneck.* [*pp.* 312, 329.]

Amongst those people are thus many severall Nations of sundry Languages, that environ *Powhatans* Territories. The *Chawonockes*, the *Mangoags*, the *Monacans*, the *Mannahokes*, the *Masawomekes*, the *Powhatans*, the *Sasquesahanocks*, the *Atquanachukes*, the *Tockwoghes*, and the *Kuscarawaokes*. All those not any one vnderstandeth another but by Interpreters. Their severall habitations are more plainly described by this annexed Mappe [*p.* 384], which will present to the eye, the way of the mountaines, and current of the rivers, with their severall turnings, bayes, shoules, Isles, Inlets, and creekes, the breadth of the waters, the distances of places, and such like. In which Mappe obserue this, that as far as you see the little Crosses on rivers, mountaines, or other places haue beene discovered; the rest was had by information of the Savages, and are set downe according to their instructions. The severall languages.

Thus haue I walkt a wayless way, with uncouth pace,
Which yet no Christian man did ever trace:
But yet I know this not affects the minde,
Which eares doth heare, as that which eyes doe finde.

[p. 56.]

Of such things which are naturally in Virginia, *and how the vse them.*

Why there is little grasse.

VIRGINIA doth afford many excellent vegetables, and liuing Creatures, yet grasse there is little or none, but what groweth in low Marishes: for all the Countrey is overgrowne with trees, whose droppings continually turneth their grasse to weeds, by reason of the rancknes of the ground, which would soone be amended by good husbandry. The wood that

Woods with their fruits.

is most common is Oke and Walnut, many of their Okes are so tall and straight, that they will beare two foote and a halfe square of good timber for 20 yards long; Of this wood there is two or three severall kinds. The Acornes of one kinde, whose barke is more white then the other, and somewhat sweetish, which being boyled, at last affords a sweet oyle, that they keepe in gourds to annoint their heads and ioynts. The fruit they eate made in bread or otherwise.

Elme.

There is also some Elme, some blacke Walnut tree, and some Ash: of Ash and Elme they make sope Ashes. If the trees be very great, the Ashes will be good, and melt to hard lumps, but if they be small, it will be but powder, and not so good as the other.

Walnuts.

Of walnuts there is 2 or 3 kindes; there is a kinde of

Supposed Cypres.

wood we called Cypres, because both the wood, the fruit, and leafe did most resemble it, and of those trees there are some neare three fadome about at the foot, very [**26**] straight, and 50, 60, or 80 foot without a branch.

Mulberries.

By the dwelling of the Salvages are some great Mulbery trees, and in some parts of the Countrey, they are found growing naturally in prettie groues. There was an assay made to make silke, and surely the wormes prospered excellent well, till the master workeman fell sicke. During which time they were eaten with Rats.

Chesnuts.

In some parts were found some Chesnuts, whose wild fruit equalize the best in *France*, *Spaine*, *Germany*, or *Italy*.

Plums there are of three sorts. The red and white are

like our hedge plums, but the other which they call *Putchamins*, grow as high as a *Palmeta*: the fruit is like a Medler; it is first greene, then yellow, and red when it is ripe: if it be not ripe, it will draw a mans mouth awry, with much torment, but when it is ripe, it is as delicious as an Apricot. [1607–9] [p. 57.]

They haue Cherries, and those are much like a Damson, but for their tastes and colour we called them Cherries. We saw some few Crabs, but very small and bitter. Cherries.

Of vines great abundance in many parts that climbe the toppes of the highest trees in some places, but these beare but few grapes. Except by the rivers and savage habitations, where they are not overshadowed from the sunne, they are covered with fruit, though never pruined nor manured. Of those hedge grapes we made neere twentie gallons of wine, which was like our French Brittish wine, but certainely they would proue good were they well manured. Vines.

There is another sort of grape neere as great as a Cherry, this they call *Messamins*; they be fatte, and the iuyce thicke. Neither doth the taste so well please when they are made in wine.

They haue a small fruit growing on little trees, husked like a Chesnut, but the fruit most like a very small Acorne. This they call *Chechinquamins*, which they esteeme a great daintie. They haue a berry much like our Gooseberry, in greatnesse, colour, and tast; those they call *Rawcomens*, and doe eat them raw or boyled. *Chechinquamins.* *Rawcomens.*

Of these naturall fruits they liue a great part of the yeare, which they vse in this manner; The Walnuts, Chesnuts, Acornes, and *Chechinquamins* are dryed to keepe. When they need walnuts they breake them betweene two stones, yet some part of the shels will cleaue to the fruit. Then doe they dry them againe vpon a Mat over a hurdle. After they put it into a morter of wood, and beat it very small: that done they mix it with water, that the shels may sinke to the bottome. This water will be coloured as milke, which they call *Pawcohiccora*, and keepe it for their vse. How they use their fruits. *Walnut milke.*

The fruit like Medlers they call *Putchamins*, they cast vpon hurdles on a Mat, and perserue them as Pruines. Of [p. 58.]

[1607–9] their Chesnuts and *Chechinquamins* boyled, they make both broath and bread for their chiefe men, or at their greatest feasts.

Besides those fruit trees, there is a white Popular, and another tree like vnto it, that yeeldeth a very cleare and
Gummes. an odoriferous *Gumme* like *Turpentine*, which some call
Cedars. *Balsom*. There are also *Cedars* and *Saxafras* trees. They
Saxafras trees. also yeeld gummes in a small proportion of themselues. Wee tryed conclusions to extract it out of the wood, but nature afforded more then our arts.

Berries. In the watry valleyes groweth a Berry which they call *Ocoughtanamnis* very much like vnto Capers. These they dry in sommer. When they eat them they boile them neare halfe a day; for otherwise they differ not much
Matoum. from poyson. *Mattoum* groweth as our Bents. The seed is not much vnlike to Rie, though much smaller. This they vse for a daintie bread buttered with deare suet.

Straw-berries. During Sommer there are either Strawberries, which ripen in Aprill, or Mulberries which ripen in May and Iune. Raspises, hurts; or a fruit that the inhabitants call *Maracocks*, which is a pleasant wholsome fruit much like a Lemond.

Hearbes. Many herbes in the spring are comonly dispersed throughout the woods, good for brothes and sallets, as Violets, Purslain, Sorrell, &c. Besides many we vsed whose names we know not.

Rootes. The chiefe root they haue for food is called *Tockawhoughe*. It groweth like a flagge in Marishes. In one day a Salvage will gather sufficient for a weeke. These roots are much of the greatnesse and taste of *Potatoes*. They vse to cover a great many of them with Oke leaues and Ferne, and then cover all with earth in the manner of a Cole-pit; over it, on each side, they continue a great fire 24 houres before they dare eat it. [**27**] Raw it is no better then poyson, and being rosted, except it be tender and the heat abated, or sliced and dryed in the Sunne, mixed with sorrell and meale or such like, it will prickle and torment the throat extreamely, and yet in sommer they vse this
[*p.* 59.] ordinarily for bread.
Wighsacan a roote. They haue another roote which they call *Wighsacan*: as

th'other feedeth the body, so this cureth their hurts and diseases. It is a small root which they bruise and apply to the wound. *Pocones* is a small root that groweth in the mountaines, which being dryed and beate in powder turneth red. And this they vse for swellings, aches, annointing their ioynts, painting their heads and garments. They account it very precious, and of much worth. *Musquaspen* is a roote of the bignesse of a finger, and as red as bloud. In drying, it will wither almost to nothing. This they vse to paint their Mattes, Targets, and such like. [1607–9]

Pocones a small roote.

Musquaspen a roote.

There is also *Pellitory of Spaine*, *Sasafrage*, and divers other simples, which the Apothecaries gathered, and commended to be good, and medicinable.

Pellitory. Sasafrage.

In the low Marishes grow plots of Onyons, containing an Acre of ground or more in many places; but they are small, not past the bignesse of the toppe of ones Thumbe.

Onyons.

Of beasts the chiefe are Deere, nothing differing from ours. In the deserts towards the heads of the rivers, there are many, but amongst the rivers few.

Their chiefe beasts are Deere.

There is a beast they call *Aroughcun*, much like a badger, but vseth to liue on trees as Squirrels doe. Their Squirrels some are neare as great as our smallest sort of wilde Rabbets, some blackish or blacke and white, but the most are gray.

Aroughcun. Squirrels.

A small beast they haue they call *Assapanick*, but we call them flying Squirrels, because spreading their legs, and so stretching the largenesse of their skins, that they haue beene seene to fly 30 or 40 yards. An *Opassom* hath a head like a Swine, and a taile like a Rat, and is of the bignesse of a Cat. Vnder her belly shee hath a bagge, wherein she lodgeth, carrieth, and suckleth her young. A *Mussascus* is a beast of the forme and nature of our water Rats, but many of them smell exceeding strongly of Muske. Their Hares [are] no bigger then our Conies, and few of them to be found.

Assapanick, a Squirrel flying.

Opassom.

Mussascus.

Their Beares are very little in comparison of those of *Muscovia* and *Tartaria*. The Beaver is as big as an ordinary water dog, but his legs exceeding short. His forefeete like a dogs, his hinder feet like a Swans. His taile somewhat like the forme of a Racket, bare without

Beares.

The Beaver.

[*p.* 60.]

[1607–9] haire, which to eat the Salvages esteeme a great delicate.

Otters. They haue many *Otters*, which as the *Beavers* they take with snares, and esteeme the skins great ornaments; and of all those beasts they vse to feed when they catch them.

Vtchunquoyes. An *Vtchunquoyes* is like a wilde Cat.

Foxes. Their Foxes are like our silver haired Conies, of a small proportion, and not smelling like those in *England*.

Dogges. Their Dogges of that Country are like their Woolues, and cannot barke but howle; and the Woolues not much bigger then our English Foxes.

Martins. Polcats. Weesels, and Minkes. Martins, Powlecats, Weesels, and Minkes we know they haue, because we haue seene many of their skinnes, though very seldome any of them aliue.

But one thing is strange, that we could never perceiue their Vermine destroy our Hennes, Egges, nor Chickens, nor doe any hurt, nor their flyes nor serpents [to be] any way pernicious, where[as] in the South parts of *America* they are alwayes dangerous, and often deadly.

Birds. Of Birds the Eagle is the greatest devourer. Hawkes there be of divers sorts, as our Falconers called them: *Sparrow-hawkes*, *Lanarets*, *Goshawkes*, *Falcons* and *Osperayes*, but they all prey most vpon fish. Their Partridges are little bigger then our Quailes. Wilde Turkies are as bigge as our tame. There are Woosels or Blackbirds with red shoulders, Thrushes and divers sorts of small Birds, some red, some blew, scarce so bigge as a Wrenne, but few in Sommer. In Winter there are great plentie of Swans, Cranes gray and white with blacke wings, Herons, Geese, Brants, Ducke, Wigeon, Dotterell, Oxeies, Parrats, and Pigeons. Of all those sorts great abundance, and some other strange kinds, to vs vnknowne by name. But in Sommer not any, or a very few to be seene.

Fish. Of fish we were best acquainted with Sturgeon, Grampus, Porpus, Seales, *Stingraies* [28] whose tailes are very dangerous. Bretts, Mullets, white Salmonds, Trowts, Soles, Plaice, Herrings, Conyfish, Rockfish, Eeles, Lampreys, Catfish, Shades, Pearch of three sorts, Crabs,

[p. 61] Shrimps, Crevises, Oysters, Cocles, and Muscles. But the most strange fish is a small one, so like the picture of St. *George* his Dragon, as possible can be, except his

legs and wings; and the Toadefish, which will swell till it be like to burst, when it commeth into the ayre. [1607-9]

Concerning the entrailes of the earth, little can be said for certaintie. There wanted good Refiners; for those that tooke vpon them to haue skill this way, tooke vp the washings from the mountaines, and some moskered shining stones and spangles which the waters brought downe, flattering themselues in their owne vaine conceits to haue beene supposed what they were not, by the meanes of that ore, if it proued as their arts and iudgements expected. Onely this is certaine, that many regions lying in the same latitude, afford Mines very rich of divers natures. The crust also of these rockes would easily perswade a man to beleeue there are other Mines then yron and steele, if there were but meanes and men of experience that knew the Mine from *Spar*. The rockes.

Of their Planted fruits in Virginia, *and how they vse them.*

THey divide the yeare into fiue seasons. Their winter some call *Popanow*, the spring, *Cattapeuk*, the sommer *Cohattayough*, the earing of their Corne *Nepinough*, the harvest and fall of leafe *Taquitock*. From September vntill the midst of November are the chiefe feasts and sacrifice. Then haue they plentie of fruits as well planted as naturall, as corne greene and ripe, fish, fowle, and wilde beasts exceeding fat. How they divide the yeare.

The greatest labour they take, is in planting their corne, for the Country naturally is overgrowne with wood. To prepare the ground they bruise the barke of the trees neare the root, then doe they scortch the roots with fire that they grow no more. How they prepare the ground.

The next yeare with a crooked peece of wood they beat vp the weeds by the rootes, and in that mould they plant their Corne. Their manner is this. They make a hole in the earth with a sticke, and into it they put foure graines of wheate and two of beanes. These holes they [*p.* 62.]

[1607–9] make foure foote one from another; Their women and children do continually keepe it with weeding, and when it is growne middle high, they hill it about like a hop-yard.

How they plant. In Aprill they begin to plant, but their chiefe plantation is in May, and so they continue till the midst of Iune. What they plant in Aprill they reape in August, for May in September, for Iune in October; Every stalke of their corne commonly beareth two eares, some three, seldome any foure, many but one, and some none. Every eare ordinarily hath betwixt 200 and 500 graines. The stalke being greene hath a sweet iuice in it, somewhat like a sugar Cane, which is the cause that when they gather their corne greene, they sucke the stalkes: for as we gather greene pease, so doe they their corne being greene, which excelleth their old.

They plant also pease they call *Assentamens*, which are the same they call in *Italy*, *Fagioli*. Their Beanes are the same the Turkes call *Garnanses*, but these they much esteeme for dainties.

How they vse their Corne. Their corne they rost in the eare greene, and bruising it in a morter of wood with a Polt, lap it in rowles in the leaues of their corne, and so boyle it for a daintie. They also reserue that corne late planted that will not ripe, by roasting it in hot ashes, the heat thereof drying it. In winter they esteeme it being boyled with beanes for a rare dish, they call *Pausarowmena*. Their old wheat they first steepe a night in hot water, in the morning pounding it in a morter. They vse a small basket for their Temmes, then pound againe the great, and so separating by dashing their hand in the basket, receiue the flower in a platter made of wood, scraped to that forme with burning [29] and shels. Tempering this flower with water, they make it either in cakes, covering them with ashes till they be baked, and then washing them in faire water, they drie [A. 63. presently with their owne heat: or else boyle them in water, eating the broth with the bread which they call *Ponap*.

The groutes and peeces of the cornes remaining, by fanning, in a Platter or in the wind, away the branne, they boyle 3 or 4 houres with water, which is an ordinary food they call *Vstatahamen*. But some more thriftie then

cleanly, doe burne the core of the eare to powder, which they call *Pungnough*, mingling that in their meale; but it never tasted well in bread, nor broth. [1607–9]

Their fish and flesh they boyle either very tenderly, or boyle it so long on hurdles over the fire, or else after the *Spanish* fashion, putting it on a spit, they turne first the one side, then the other, till it be as drie as their ierkin Beefe in the west *Indies*, that they may keepe it a moneth or more without putrifying. The broth of fish or flesh they eat as commonly as the meat. How they vse their fish and flesh.

In May also amongst their corne they plant *Pumpeons*, and a fruit like vnto a muske mellon, but lesse and worse, which they call *Macocks*. These increase exceedingly, and ripen in the beginning of Iuly, and continue vntill September. They plant also *Maracocks* a wild fruit like a Lemmon, which also increase infinitely. They begin to ripe in September, and continue till the end of October. Planted fruits.

When all their fruits be gathered, little els they plant, and this is done by their women and children; neither doth this long suffice them, for neare three parts of the yeare, they onely obserue times and seasons, and liue of what the Country naturally affordeth from hand to mouth, &c.

The Commodities in Virginia, *or that may be had by Industrie.*

THe mildnesse of the ayre, the fertilitie of the soyle, and situation of the rivers are so propitious to the nature and vse of man, as no place is more convenient for pleasure, profit, and mans sustenance, vnder that latitude or climat. Here will liue any beasts, as horses, goats, sheepe, asses, hens, &c. as appeared by them that were carried thether. The waters, Isles, and shoales, are full of safe harbours for ships of warre or marchandize, for boats of all sorts, for transportation or fishing, &c. [*p.* 64.]

A proofe cattell will liue well.

The Bay and rivers haue much marchantable fish, and places fit for Salt coats, building of ships, making of Iron, &c.

[1607–9] The Commodities.

Muscovia and *Polonia* doe yearely receiue many thousands, for pitch, tarre, sopeashes, Rosen, Flax, Cordage, Sturgeon, Masts, Yards, Wainscot, Firres, Glasse, and such like; also *Swethland* for Iron and Copper. *France* in like manner, for Wine, Canvas, and Salt. *Spaine* asmuch for Iron, Steele, Figges, Reasons, and Sackes. *Italy* with Silkes and Velvets consumes our chiefe Commodities. *Holland* maintaines it selfe by fishing and trading at our owne doores. All these temporize [*traffic*] with other for necessities, but all as vncertaine as peace or warres. Besides the charge, travell, and danger in transporting them, by seas, lands, stormes, and Pyrats. Then how much hath *Virginia* the prerogatiue of all those flourishing Kingdomes, for the benefit of our Land, when as within one hundred myles all those are to be had, either ready provided by nature, or else to be prepared, were there but industrious men to labour. Onely of Copper we may doubt is wanting, but there is good probabilitie that both Copper and better Minerals are there to be had for their labour. Other Countries haue it. So then here is a place, a nurse for souldiers, a practise for mariners, a trade for marchants, a reward for the good, and that which is most of all, a businesse (most acceptable to God) to bring such poore Infidels to the knowledge of God and his holy Gospell.

[*p.* 65.]

Of the naturall Inhabitants of VIRGINIA.

The numbers.

THE land is not populous, for the men be few; their far greater number is of women and children. Within 60 myles of *Iames* Towne, there are about some 5000 people, but of able men fit for their warres scarce 1500. To nourish so many [**30**] together they haue yet no meanes, because they make so small a benefit of their land, be it never so fertile.

Seaven hundred men were the most were seene together when they thought to haue surprised Captaine *Smith*.

Six or seauen hundred haue beene the most [that] hath beene seene together, when they gathered themselues to *haue surprised* mee *at Pamavnkee*, having but fifteene to withstand the worst of their fury [*p.* 457]. As small as the proportion of ground that hath yet beene discovered, is in comparison of that yet vnknowne: The

people differ very much in stature, especially in language, as before is expressed. [1607-9]

A description of the people.

Some being very great as the *Sasquesahanocks*; others very little, as the *Wighcocomocoes*: but generally tall and straight, of a comely proportion, and of a colour browne when they are of any age, but they are borne white. Their hayre is generally blacke, but few haue any beards. The men weare halfe their beards [*heads*] shaven, the other halfe long; for Barbers they vse their women, who with two shels will grate away the hayre, of any fashion they please. The women [*i.e., their hair*] are cut in many fashions, agreeable to their yeares, but ever some part remaineth long.

The Barbers.

The constitution.

They are very strong, of an able body and full of agilitie, able to endure to lie in the woods vnder a tree by the fire, in the worst of winter, or in the weedes and grasse, in Ambuscado in the Sommer.

The disposition.

They are inconstant in every thing, but what feare constraineth them to keepe. Craftie, timerous, quicke of apprehension, and very ingenuous. Some are of disposition fearefull, some bold, most cautelous, all Savage. Generally covetous of Copper, Beads, and such like trash. They are soone moued to anger, and so malicious, that they seldome forget an iniury: they seldome steale one from another, least their coniurers should reveale it, and so they be pursued and punished. That they are thus feared is certaine, [*p.* 66.] but that any can reueale their offences by coniuration I am doubtfull. Their women are carefull not to be suspected of dishonestie without the leaue of their husbands.

The possessions.

Each houshold knoweth their owne lands, and gardens, and most liue of their owne labours.

Their attire.

For their apparell, they are some time covered with the skinnes of wilde beasts, which in Winter are dressed with the hayre, but in Sommer without. The better sort vse large mantels of Deare skins, not much differing in fashion from the Irish mantels. Some imbrodered with white beads, some with Copper, other painted after their manner. But the common sort haue scarce to cover their nakednesse, but with grasse, the leaues of trees, or such like. We haue seene some vse mantels made of Turky feathers, so prettily wrought and woven with threads that nothing could be discerned but the feathers. That was

[1607–9] exceeding warme and very handsome. But the women are alwayes covered about their middles with a skin, and very shamefast to be seene bare.

Their ornaments. They adorne themselues most with copper beads and paintings. Their women, some haue their legs, hands, breasts, and face cunningly imbrodered [*tattooed*] with divers workes, as beasts, serpents, artificially wrought into their flesh with blacke spots. In each eare commonly they haue 3 great holes, whereat they hang chaines, bracelets, or copper. Some of their men weare in those holes, a small greene and yellow coloured snake, neare halfe a yard in length, which crawling and lapping her selfe about his necke oftentimes familiarly would kisse his lips. Others weare a dead Rat tyed by the taile. Some on their heads weare the wing of a bird, or some large feather with a Rattell. Those Rattels are somewhat like the chape of a Rapier but lesse, which they take from the taile of a snake. Many haue the whole skinne of a Hawke or some strange foule, stuffed with the wings abroad. Others a broad peece of Copper, and some the hand of their enemy dryed. Their heads and shoulders are painted red with the roote *Pocone* brayed to powder, mixed with oyle, this they hold in sommer to preserue them from the heate, and in winter from the cold. Many other formes of paintings [*p.* 67.] they vse, but he is the most gallant that is the most monstrous to behold.

Their buildings. Their buildings and habitations are for the most part by the rivers, or not farre distant from some fresh spring. Their houses are built like our Arbors, of small young springs bowed and tyed, and so close covered with Mats, or the barkes of trees very handsomely, that notwithstanding either winde, raine, or weather, they are as warme as stooues, but very smoaky, yet at the toppe of the house there is a hole made for the smoake to goe into right over the fire. [**31**]

Their lodgings. Against the fire they lie on little hurdles of Reeds covered with a Mat, borne from the ground a foote and more by a hurdle of wood. On these round about the house they lie heads and points one by th'other against the fire, some covered with Mats, some with skins, and some starke naked lie on the ground, from 6 to 20 in a house.

Their houses are in the midst of their fields or gardens, which are small plots of ground. Some 20 acres, some 40. some 100. some 200. some more, some lesse. In some places from 2 to 50 of those houses together, or but a little separated by groues of trees. Neare their habitations is little small wood or old trees on the ground by reason of their burning of them for fire. So that a man may gallop a horse amongst these woods any way, but where the creekes or Rivers shall hinder. [1607-9] Their gardens.

Men, women, and children haue their severall names according to the severall humor of their Parents. Their women (they say) are easily delivered of childe, yet doe they loue children very dearely. To make them hardie, in the coldest mornings they wash them in the rivers, and by painting and oyntments so tanne their skinnes, that after a yeare or two, no weather will hurt them. How they vse their children.

The men bestow their times in fishing, hunting, warres, and such man-like exercises, scorning to be seene in any woman-like exercise, which is the cause that the women be very painefull, and the men often idle. The women and children doe the rest of the worke. They make mats, baskets, pots, morters, pound their corne, make their bread, prepare their victuals, plant their corne, gather their corne, beare all kind of burdens, and such like. The industrie of their women.

Their fire they kindle presently by chafing a dry pointed sticke in a hole of a little square peece of wood, that firing it selfe, will so fire mosse, leaues, or any such like dry thing, that will quickly burne. [*f*. 68.] How they strike fire.

In March and Aprill they liue much vpon their fishing w[e]ires; and feed on fish, Turkies, and Squirrels. In May and Iune they plant their fields, and liue most of Acornes, Walnuts, and fish. But to amend their dyet, some disperse themselues in small companies, and liue vpon fish, beasts, crabs, oysters, land Tortoises, strawberries, mulberries, and such like. In Iune, Iuly, and August, they feed vpon the rootes of *Tocknough*, berries, fish, and greene wheat. The order of dyet.

It is strange to see how their bodies alter with their dyet, even as the deere and wilde beasts they seeme fat and leane, strong and weake. *Powhatan* their great King, and some others that are provident, rost their fish and flesh vpon hurdles as before is expressed, and keepe it till scarce times.

[1607–9] How they make their bowes and arrowes.

For fishing, hunting, and warres they vse much their bow and arrowes. They bring their bowes to the forme of ours by the scraping of a shell. Their arrowes are made, some of straight young sprigs, which they head with bone, some 2 or 3 ynches long. These they vse to shoot at Squirrels on trees. Another sort of arrowes they vse made of Reeds. These are peeced with wood, headed with splinters of christall, or some sharpe stone, the spurres of a Turkey, or the bill of some bird. For his knife he hath the splinter of a Reed to cut his feathers in forme. With this knife also, he will ioynt a Deere, or any beast, shape his shooes, buskins, mantels, &c. To make the noch of his arrow he hath the tooth of a Beaver, set in a sticke, wherewith he grateth it by degrees. His arrow head he quickly maketh with a little bone, which he ever weareth at his bracert, of any splint of a stone, or glasse in the forme of a heart, and these they glew to the end of their arrowes. With the sinewes of Deere, and the tops of Deeres hornes boyled to a ielly, they make a glew that will not dissolue in cold water.

Their kniues.

Their Targets and Swords. [*p.* 69.]

For their warres also they vse Targets that are round and made of the barkes of trees, and a sword of wood at their backes, but oftentimes they vse for swords the horne of a Deere put through a peece of wood in forme of a Pickaxe. Some a long stone sharpned at both ends, vsed in the same manner. This they were wont to vse also for hatchets, but now by trucking they haue plentie of the same forme of yron. And those are their chiefe instruments and armes.

Their Boats.

Their fishing is much in Boats. These they make of one tree by burning and scratching away the coales with stones and shels, till they haue made it in forme of a [**32**] Trough. Some of them are an elne deepe, and fortie or fiftie foote in length, and some will beare 40 men, but the most ordinary are smaller, and will beare 10, 20, or 30. according to their bignesse. Instead of Oares, they vse Paddles and stickes, with which they will row faster then our Barges.

How they spin.

Betwixt their hands and thighes, their women vse to spin the barkes of trees, Deere sinewes, or a kind of grasse

they call *Pemmenaw*, of these they make a thread very even and readily. This thread serveth for many vses. As about their housing, apparell, as also they make nets for fishing, for the quantitie as formally braded as ours. They make also with it lines for angles. [1607–9]

Their hookes are either a bone grated as they noch their arrowes in the forme of a crooked pinne or fish-hooke, or of the splinter of a bone tyed to the clift of a little sticke, and with the end of the line, they tie on the bate. Their fish-hookes.

They vse also long arrowes tyed in a line, wherewith they shoote at fish in the rivers. But they of *Accawmack* vse staues like vnto Iauelins headed with bone. With these they dart fish swimming in the water. They haue also many artificiall w[e]ires, in which they get abundance of fish.

In their hunting and fishing they take extreame paines; yet it being their ordinary exercise from their infancy, they esteeme it a pleasure and are very proud to be expert therein. And by their continuall ranging, and travell, they know all the advantages and places most frequented with Deere, Beasts, Fish, Foule, Roots, and Berries. At their huntings they leaue their habitations, and reduce themselues into companies, as the *Tartars* doe, and goe to the most desert places with their families, where they spend their time in hunting and fowling vp towards the mountaines, by the heads of their rivers, where there is plentie of game. For betwixt the rivers the grounds are so narrowe, that little commeth here which they devoure not. It is a marvell they can so directly passe these deserts, some 3 or 4 dayes iourney without habitation. Their hunting houses are like vnto Arbours covered with Mats. These their women beare after them, with Corne, Acornes, Morters, and all bag and baggage they vse. When they come to the place of exercise, every man doth his best to shew his dexteritie, for by their excelling in those qualities, they get their wiues. Fortie yards will they shoot levell, or very neare the marke, and 120 is their best at Random. At their huntings in the deserts they are commonly two or three hundred together. Having found the Deere, they environ them with many fires, and betwixt the fires they place themselues. And some take their stands in the midsts. The Deere being thus feared by the fires, and How they hunt. [*f.* 70.]

[1607–9] their voyces, they chase them so long within that circle, that many times they kill 6, 8, 10, or 15 at a hunting. They vse also to driue them into some narrow poynt of land, when they find that advantage; and so force them into the river, where with their boats they haue *Ambuscadoes* to kill them. When they haue shot a Deere by land, they follow him like bloud-hounds by the bloud and straine, and oftentimes so take them. Hares, Partridges, Turkies, or Egges, fat or leane, young or old, they devoure all they can catch in their power.

In one of these huntings they found me in the discovery of the head of the river of *Chickahamania*, where they slew my men, and tooke me prisoner in a Bogmire; where I saw those exercises, and gathered these Observations.

One Salvage hunting alone.

One Salvage hunting alone, vseth the skinne of a Deere slit on the one side, and so put on his arme, through the neck, so that his hand comes to the head which is stuffed, and the hornes, head, eyes, eares, and every part as artificially counterfeited as they can devise. Thus shrowding his body in the skinne by stalking, he approacheth the Deere, creeping on the ground from one tree to another. If the Deere chance to find fault, or stand at gaze, he turneth the head with his hand to his best advantage to [*p.* 71.] seeme like a Deere, also gazing and licking himselfe. So watching his best advantage to approach, having shot him, he chaseth him by his bloud and straine till he get him.

Their Consultations.

When they intend any warres, the *Werowances* vsually haue the advice of their Priests and Coniurers, and their allies, and ancient friends; but chiefely the Priests determine their resolution. Every *Werowance*, or some lustie fellow, they appoint [**33**] Captaine over every nation. They seldome make warre for lands or goods, but for women and children, and principally for revenge. They haue many enemies, namely, all their westernly Countries beyond the mountaines, and the heads of the rivers. Vpon the head of the *Powhatans* are the *Monacans*, whose chiefe habitation is at *Rasauweak*; vnto whom the *Mowhemenchughes*, the *Massinnacacks*, the *Monahassanughs*, the *Monasickapanoughs*, and other nations pay tributes.

Their enemies.

Vpon the head of the river of *Toppahanock* is a people called *Mannahoacks*. To these are contributers the *Tauxanias*,

the *Shackaconias*, the *Ontponeas*, the *Tegninateos*, the *Whonkenteaes*, the *Stegarakes*, the *Hassinnungaes*, and divers others, all confederates with the *Monacans*, though many different in language, and be very barbarous, liuing for the most part of wild beasts and fruits. [1607-9]

Beyond the mountaines from whence is the head of the river *Patawomeke*, the Salvages report inhabit their most mortall enemies, the *Massawomekes*, vpon a great salt water, which by all likelihood is either some part of *Cannada*, some great lake, or some inlet of some sea that falleth into the South sea. These *Massawomekes* are a great nation and very populous. For the heads of all those rivers, especially the *Pattawomekes*, the *Pautuxuntes*, the *Sasquesahanocks*, the *Tockwoughes* are continually tormented by them : of whose crueltie, they generally complained, and very importunate they were with me and my company to free them from these tormentors. To this purpose they offered food, conduct, assistance, and continuall subiection. *Massawomekes.* Their offer of subiection

Which I concluded to effect. But the councell then present emulating my successe, would not thinke it fit to spare me fortie men to be hazzarded in those vnknowne regions, having passed (as before was spoken of) but with 12, and so was lost that opportunitie.

Seaven boats full of these *Massawomekes* wee encountred at the head of the *Bay*; whose Targets, Baskets, Swords, Tobaccopipes, Platters, Bowes, and Arrowes, and every thing shewed, they much exceeded them of our parts; and their dexteritie in their small boats, made of the barkes of trees sowed with barke and well luted with gumme, argueth that they are seated vpon some great water. [p. 72.]

Against all these enemies the *Powhatans* are constrained sometimes to fight. Their chiefe attempts are by Stratagems, trecheries, or surprisals. Yet the *Werowances*, women and children they put not to death, but keepe them Captiues. They haue a method in warre, and for our pleasures they shewed it vs, and it was in this manner performed at *Mattapanient*.

Having painted and disguised themselues in the fiercest manner they could devise. They divided themselues into two Companies, neare a hundred in a company. The one company called *Monacans*, the other *Powhatans*. Either Their manner of Battell.

[1607-9] army had their Captaine. These as enemies tooke their stands a musket shot one from another; ranked themselues 15 a breast, and each ranke from another 4 or 5 yards, not in fyle, but in the opening betwixt their fyles. So the Reare could shoot as conveniently as the Front.

Having thus pitched the fields: from either part went a messenger with these conditions, that whosoever were vanquished, such as escape vpon their submission in two dayes after should liue, but their wiues and children should be prize for the Conquerours.

The messengers were no sooner returned, but they approached in their orders; On each flanke a Serieant, and in the Reare an Officer for Lieutenant, all duly keeping their orders, yet leaping and singing after their accustomed tune, which they onely vse in Warres. Vpon the first flight of arrowes they gaue such horrible shouts and screeches, as so many infernall hell hounds could not haue made them more terrible.

When they had spent their arrowes, they ioyned together prettily, charging and retyring, every ranke seconding other. As they got advantage they catched their enemies by the [*p.* 73.] hayre of the head, and downe he came that was taken. His enemy with his wooden sword seemed to beat out his braines, and still they crept to the Reare, to maintaine the skirmish.

The *Monacans* decreasing, the *Powhatans* charged them in the forme of a halfe Moone; they vnwilling to be inclosed, fled all in a troope to their *Ambuscadoes*, on whom they led them very cunningly. The *Monacans* disperse themselues among the fresh men, wherevpon the [**34**] *Powhatans* retired, with all speed to their seconds; which the *Monacans* seeing, tooke that advantage to retire againe to their owne battell, and so each returned to their owne quarter.

All their actions, voyces, and gestures, both in charging and retiring were so strained to the height of their qualitie and nature, that the strangenesse thereof made it seeme very delightfull.

Their Musicke. For their Musicke they vse a thicke Cane, on which they pipe as on a Recorder. For their warres they haue a great deepe platter of wood. They cover the mouth thereof with a skin, at each corner they tie a walnut,

which meeting on the backside neere the bottome, with a small rope they twitch them together till it be so tought and stiffe, that they may beat vpon it as vpon a drumme. But their chiefe instruments are Rattles made of small gourds, or Pumpeons shels. Of these they haue Base, Tenor, Countertenor, Meane, and Treble. These mingled with their voyces sometimes twenty or thirtie together, make such a terrible noise as would rather affright, then delight any man. [1607–9]

Their entertainement.

If any great commander arriue at the habitation of a *Werowance*, they spread a Mat as the Turkes doe a Carpet for him to sit vpon. Vpon another right opposite they sit themselues. Then doe all with a tunable voice of shouting bid him welcome. After this doe two or more of their chiefest men make an Oration, testifying their loue. Which they doe with such vehemency, and so great passions, that they sweat till they drop, and are so out of breath they can scarce speake. So that a man would take them to be exceeding angry, or stark mad. Such victuall as they haue, they spend freely; and at night where his lodging is appointed, they set a woman fresh painted red with *Pocones* and oyle, to be his bed-fellow.

[*p.* 74.] Their trade

Their manner of trading is for copper, beads, and such like, for which they giue such commodities as they haue, as skins, foule, fish, flesh, and their Country Corne. But their victualls are their chiefest riches.

Their Phisicke.

Every spring they make themselues sicke with drinking the iuyce of a roote they call *Wighsacan*, and water; whereof they powre so great a quantitie, that it purgeth them in a very violent manner; so that in three or foure dayes after, they scarce recover their former health.

Their Chirurgery.

Sometimes they are troubled with dropsies, swellings, aches, and such like diseases; for cure whereof they build a Stoue in the forme of a Doue-house with mats, so close that a few coales therein covered with a pot, will make the patient sweat extreamely. For swellings also they vse small peeces of touchwood, in the forme of cloues, which pricking on the griefe they burne close to the flesh, and from thence draw the corruption with their mouth. With this roote *Wighsacan* they ordinarily heale greene wounds. But to scarrifie a swelling, or make incision, their best

[1607–9] instruments are some splinted stone. Old vlcers, or putrified hurts are seldome seene cured amongst them.

Their charms to cure. They haue many professed Phisicians, who with their charmes and Rattles, with an infernall rout of words and actions, will seeme to sucke their inward griefe from their navels, or their grieued places; but of our Chirurgians they were so conceited, that they beleeued any Plaister would heale any hurt.

But 'tis not alwayes in Phisicians skill,
To heale the Patient that is sicke and ill:
For sometimes sicknesse on the Patients part,
Proues stronger farre then all Phisicians art.

Of their Religion.

THere is yet in *Virginia* no place discovered to be so Savage, in which they haue not a Religion, Deere, and Bow and Arrowes. All things that are able to doe them hurt beyond their prevention, they adore with their kinde of divine worship; as the fire, water, lightning, thunder, our Ordnance, peeces, horses, &c.

[*p.* 75.] Their God. But their chiefe God they worship is the Devill. Him they call *Okee*, [**35**] and serue him more of feare then loue. They say they haue conference with him, and fashion themselues as neare to his shape as they can imagine. In their Temples they haue his image euill favouredly carved, and then painted and adorned with chaines of copper, and beads, and covered with a skin, in such manner as the deformitie may well suit with such a God.

How they bury their Kings. By him is commonly the sepulcher of their Kings. Their bodies are first bowelled, then dried vpon hurdles till they be very dry, and so about the most of their ioynts and necke they hang bracelets, or chaines of copper, pearle, and such like, as they vse to weare; their inwards they stuffe with copper beads, hatchets, and such trash. Then lappe they

them very carefully in white skins, and so rowle them in mats for their winding sheets. And in the Tombe which is an arch made of mats, they lay them orderly. What remaineth of this kinde of wealth their Kings haue, they set at their feet in baskets. These Temples and bodies are kept by their Priests. [1607-9]

For their ordinary burials, they dig a deepe hole in the earth with sharpe stakes, and the corpse being lapped in skins and mats with their iewels, they lay them vpon stickes in the ground, and so cover them with earth. The buriall ended, the women being painted all their faces with blacke cole and oyle, doe sit twenty-foure houres in the houses mourning and lamenting by turnes, with such yelling and howling, as may expresse their great passions. Their ordinary burials.

In every Territory of a *Werowance* is a Temple and a Priest, two or three or more. Their principall Temple or place of superstition is at *Vttamussack* at *Pamavnkee*, neare vnto which is a house, Temple, or place of *Powhatans*. Their Temples.

Vpon the top of certaine red sandy hils in the woods, there are three great houses filled with images of their Kings, and Devils, and Tombes of their Predecessors. Those houses are neare sixtie foot in length built arbour-wise, after their building. This place they count so holy as that [none] but the Priests and Kings dare come into them ; nor the Salvages dare not goe vp the river in boats by it, but they solemnly cast some peece of copper, white beads, or *Pocones* into the river, for feare their *Okee* should be offended and revenged of them. [*p.* 76.]

Thus, *Feare was the first their Gods begot:*
Till feare began, their Gods were not.

In this place commonly are resident seauen Priests. The chiefe differed from the rest in his ornaments, but inferior Priests could hardly be knowne from the common people, but that they had not so many holes in their eares to hang their iewels at. Their ornaments for their Priests.

The ornaments of the chiefe Priest were certaine attires for his head made thus. They tooke a dosen, or 16, or more snakes skins and stuffed them with mosse, and of Weesels and other Vermines skins a good many. All these

[1607–9] they tie by their tailes, so as all their tailes meete in the toppe of their head like a great Tassell. Round about this Tassell is as it were a crowne of feathers, the skins hang round about his head, necke, and shoulders, and in a manner cover his face.

The faces of all their Priests are painted as vgly as they can devise, in their hands they had every one his Rattle, some base [*in tune*], some smaller. Their devotion was most in songs, which the chiefe Priest beginneth and the rest followed him: sometimes he maketh invocations with broken sentences by starts and strange passions; and at every pause, the rest giue a short groane.

Thus seeke they in deepe foolishnesse,
To climbe the height of happinesse.

The times of solemnities.

It could not be perceiued that they keepe any day as more holy then other; But onely in some great distresse of want, feare of enemies, times of triumph and gathering together their fruits, the whole Country of men, women, and children come together to solemnities. The manner of their devotion is, sometimes to make a great fire, in the house or fields, and all to sing and dance about it with Rattles and shouts [**36**] together, foure or fiue houres. Sometimes they set a man in the midst, and about him they dance and sing, he all the while clapping his hands, as if he would keepe time: and after their songs and dauncings ended they goe to their Feasts.

Through God begetting feare,
Mans blinded minde did reare
A hell-god to the ghosts;
A heaven-god to the hoasts;
Yea God vnto the Seas:
Feare did create all these.

Their coniurations.

They haue also divers coniurations, one they made when I was their prisoner; of which hereafter you shall reade at large [*pp.* 76, 398].

[*p.* 77.] Their Altars.

They haue also certaine Altar stones they call *Pawcorances*, but these stand from their Temples, some by their houses, others in the woods and wildernesses, where they

haue had any extraordinary accident, or incounter. And as you travell, at those stones they will tell you the cause why they were there erected, which from age to age they instruct their children, as their best records of antiquities. Vpon these they offer bloud, Deere suet, and Tobacco. This they doe when they returne from the Warres, from hunting, and vpon many other occasions. [1607-9]

They haue also another superstition that they vse in stormes, when the waters are rough in the Rivers and Sea coasts. Their Coniurers runne to the water sides, or passing in their boats, after many hellish outcryes and invocations, they cast Tobacco, Copper, *Pocones*, or such trash into the water, to pacifie that God whom they thinke to be very angry in those stormes. Sacrifices to the water.

Before their dinners and suppers the better sort will take the first bit, and cast it in the fire, which is all the grace they are knowne to vse.

In some part of the Country they haue yearely a sacrifice of children. Such a one was at *Quiyoughcohanock* some ten myles from *Iames* Towne, and thus performed.

Fifteene of the properest young boyes, betweene ten and fifteene yeares of age they painted white. Having brought them forth, the people spent the forenoone in dancing and singing about them with Rattles. Their solemn Sacrifices of children, which they call Black-boyes.

In the afternoone they put those children to the roote of a tree. By them all the men stood in a guard, every one having a Bastinado in his hand, made of reeds bound together. This made a lane betweene them all along, through which there were appointed fiue young men to fetch these children: so every one of the fiue went through the guard to fetch a childe each after other by turnes, the guard fiercely beating them with their Bastinadoes, and they patiently enduring and receiuing all defending the children with their naked bodies from the vnmercifull blowes, that pay them soundly, though the children escape. All this while the women weepe and cry out very passionately, prouiding mats, skins, mosse, and dry wood, as things fitting their childrens funerals. [*p.* 78.]

After the children were thus passed the guard, the guard tore down the trees, branches and boughs, with such violence that they rent the body, and made wreaths for their heads,

[1607-9] or bedecked their hayre with the leaues. What els was done with the children, was not seene, but they were all cast on a heape, in a valley as dead, where they made a great feast for all the company.

Those Blackboyes are made so mad with a kind of drinke, that they will doe any mischiefe, at the command of their Keepers.

The *Werowance* being demanded the meaning of this sacrifice, answered that the children were not all dead, but that the *Okee* or *Divell* did sucke the bloud from their left breast, who chanced to be his by lot, till they were dead; but the rest were kept in the wildernesse by the young men till nine moneths were expired, during which time they must not converse with any: and of these were made their Priests and Coniurers.

This sacrifice they held to be so necessary, that if they should omit it, their *Okee* or *Devill*, and all their other *Quiyoughcosughes*, which are their other Gods, would let them haue no Deere, Turkies, Corne, nor fish: and yet besides, he would make a great slaughter amongst them.

Their resurrection.

They thinke that their *Werowances* and Priests which they also esteeme *Quiyoughcosughes*, when they are dead, doe goe beyond the mountaines towards the setting of the sunne, and ever remaine there in forme of their *Okee*, with their heads painted [**37**] with oyle and *Pocones*, finely trimmed with feathers, and shall haue beads, hatchets, copper, and Tobacco, doing nothing but dance and sing, with all their Predecessors.

[*p.* 79.]

But the common people they suppose shall not liue after death, but rot in their graues like dead dogs.

To divert them from this blind Idolatry, we did our best endevours, chiefly with the *Werowance* of *Quiyoughcohanock*, whose devotion, apprehension, and good disposition, much exceeded any in those Countries, with whom although we could not as yet prevaile, to forsake his false Gods, yet this he did beleeue that our God as much exceeded theirs, as our Gunnes did their Bowes and Arrowes: and many times did send to me to *Iames* Towne, intreating me to pray to my God for raine, for their Gods would not send them any. And in this lamentable ignorance doe these poore soules sacrifice themselues to the Devill, not knowing their Creator; and we had not language sufficient, so plainly to expresse it as make them vnderstand it; which God grant they may.

[1607-9]

For, *Religion 'tis that doth distinguish vs,*
From their bruit humor, well we may it know;
That can with vnderstanding argue thus,
Our God is truth, but they cannot doe so.

Of the manner of the Virginians *Government.*

ALthough the Country people be very barbarous, yet haue they amongst them such government, as that their Magistrates for good commanding, and their people for due subiection and obeying, excell many places that would be counted very civill.

The forme of their Common-wealth is a Monarchicall government, one as Emperour ruleth ouer many Kings or Governours. Their chiefe ruler is called *Powhatan*, and taketh his name of his principall place of dwelling called *Powhatan*. But his proper name is *Wahunsonacock*.

Some Countries he hath which haue beene his ancestors, and came vnto him by inheritance, as the Country called *Powhatan, Arrohateck, Appamatuck, Pamavnkee, Youghtanund*, and *Mattapanient*. All the rest of his Territories expressed in the Mappe, they report haue beene his severall Conquests.

In all his ancient inheritances, he hath houses built after their manner like arbours, some 30. some 40. yards long, and at every house provision for his entertainement according to the time. At *Werowcomoco* on the North side of the river *Pamavnkee*, was his residence, when I was delivered him prisoner, some 14 myles from *Iames* Towne; where for the most part, he was resident, but at last he tooke so little pleasure in our neare neighbourhood, that he retired himselfe to *Orapakes*, in the desert betwixt *Chickahamania* and *Youghtanund*. [p. 80.]

A description of *Powhatan*

He is of personage a tall well proportioned man, with a sower looke, his head somwhat gray, his beard so

[1607-9] thinne, that it seemeth none at all, his age neare sixtie; of a very able and hardy body to endure any labour.

His attendance and watch. About his person ordinarily attendeth a guard of 40 or 50 of the tallest men his Country doth afford. Every night vpon the foure quarters of his house are foure Sentinels, each from other a flight shoot, and at every halfe houre one from the *Corps du guard* doth hollow, shaking his lips with his finger betweene them; vnto whom every Sentinell doth answer round from his stand: if any faile, they presently send forth an officer that beateth him extreamely.

His treasury. A myle from *Orapakes* in a thicket of wood, he hath a house in which he keepeth his kinde of Treasure, as skinnes, copper, pearle, and beads, which he storeth vp against the time of his death and buriall. Here also is his store of red paint for oyntment, bowes and arrowes, Targets and clubs. This house is fiftie or sixtie yards in length, frequented onely by Priests. At the foure corners of this house stand foure [38] Images as Sentinels, one of a Dragon, another a Beare, the third like a Leopard, and the fourth like a giantlike man: all made evill favouredly, according to their best workemanship.

His wiues. He hath as many women as he will, whereof when he lieth on his bed, one sitteth at his head, and another at his feet; but when he sitteth, one sitteth on his right hand and another on his left. As he is weary of his women, he bestoweth them on those that best deserue them at his hands.

When he dineth or suppeth, one of his women, before and after meat, bringeth him water in a wooden platter to wash his hands. Another waiteth with a bunch of feathers to wipe them in stead of a Towell, and the feathers when he hath wiped are dryed againe.

[*f.* 81.] His successors. His kingdomes descend not to his sonnes nor children, but first to his brethren, whereof he hath 3. namely, *Opitchapan*, *Opechancanough*, and *Catataugh*, and after their decease to his sisters. First to the eldest sister, then to the rest, and after them to the heires male or female of the eldest sister, but never to the heires of the males.

Their authoritie. He nor any of his people vnderstand any letters, whereby to write or reade, onely the lawes whereby he ruleth is

custome. Yet when he listeth his will is a law and must be obeyed: not onely as a King, but as halfe a God they esteeme him. [1607–9]

His inferiour Kings, whom they call *Werowances*, are tyed to rule by customes, and haue power of life and death at their command in that nature. But this word *Werowance*, which we call and construe for a King, is a common word, whereby they call all commanders: for they haue but few words in their language, and but few occasions to vse any officers more then one commander, which commonly they call *Werowance*, or *Caucorouse*, which is Captaine.

The tenor of their lands.

They all know their severall lands, and habitations, and limits, to fish, foule, or hunt in: but they hold all of their great *Werowance Powhatan*, vnto whom they pay tribute of skinnes, beads, copper, pearle, deere, turkies, wild beasts, and corne. What he commandeth they dare not disobey in the least thing. It is strange to see with what great feare and adoration, all these people doe obey this *Powhatan*. For at his feet they present whatsoever he commandeth, and at the least frowne of his brow, their greatest spirits will tremble with feare: and no marvell, for he is very terrible and tyrannous in punishing such as offend him.

His manner of punishments.

For example, he caused certaine malefactors to be bound hand and foot, then having of many fires gathered great store of burning coales, they rake these coales round in the forme of a cock-pit, and in the midst they cast the offenders to broyle to death. Sometimes he causeth the heads of them that offend him, to be laid vpon the altar or sacrificing stone, and one with clubbes beats out their braines. When he would punish any notorious enemy or malefactor, he causeth him to be tyed to a tree, and with Mussell shels or reeds, the executioner cutteth off his ioynts one after another, ever casting what they cut of into the fire; then doth he proceed with shels and reeds to case the skinne from his head and face; then doe they rip his belly and so burne him with the tree and all. Thus themselues reported they executed *George Cassen*. [*pp.*82,98,395.]

[*p.* 82.]

Their ordinary correction is to beate them with cudgels. We haue seene a man kneeling on his knees, and at *Powhatans* command, two men haue beate him on the bare skin, till he hath fallen senselesse in a sound, and yet never

[1607-9] cry nor complained. And he made a woman for playing the whore, sit vpon a great stone, on her bare breech twenty-foure houres, onely with corne and water, every three dayes, till nine dayes were past; yet he loued her exceedingly: notwithstanding there are common whores by profession.

In the yeare 1608, he surprised the people of *Payankatank* his neare neighbours and subiects. The occasion was to vs vnknowne, but the manner was thus. First he sent divers of his men as to lodge amongst them that night, then the *Ambuscadoes* environed all their houses, and at the houre appointed, they all fell to the spoyle: twenty-foure men they slew; the long haire of the one side of their heads, with the skinne cased off with shels or reeds, they brought away. They surprised also the women, and the children, and the *Werowance*. All these they presented to *Powhatan*. The *Werowance*, women and children became his prisoners, and doe him service. [**39**]

The lockes of haire with their skinnes he hanged on a line betwixt two trees. And thus he made ostentation of his triumph at *Werowocomoco*, where he intended to haue done as much to mee and my company [*see pp.* 82, 133].

And this is as much as my memory can call to minde worthy of note; which I haue purposely collected, to satisfie my friends of the true worth and qualitie of *Virginia*. Yet some bad natures will not sticke to slander the Countrey, that will slovenly spit at all things, especially in company where they can finde none to contradict them. Who though they were scarce euer ten myles from *Iames* Towne, or at the most but at the falles; yet holding it a [*p.* 83.] great disgrace that amongst so much action, their actions were nothing, exclaime of all things, though they never adventured to know any thing; nor euer did any thing but devoure the fruits of other mens labours. Being for most part of such tender educations, and small experience in Martiall accidents, because they found not English Cities, nor such faire houses, nor at their owne wishes any of their accustomed dainties, with feather beds and downe pillowes, Tavernes and Alehouses in every breathing

place, neither such plentie of gold and silver and dissolute libertie, as they expected, had little or no care of any thing, but to pamper their bellies, to fly away with our Pinnaces, or procure their meanes to returne for *England*. For the Country was to them a misery, a ruine, a death, a hell; and their reports here, and their actions there according. [1607-9]

Some other there were that had yearely stipends to passe to and againe for transportation: who to keepe the mysterie of the businesse in themselues, though they had neither time nor meanes to know much of themselues; yet all mens actions or relations they so formally tuned to the temporizing times simplicitie, as they could make their ignorances seeme much more, then all the true actors could by their experience. And those with their great words deluded the world with such strange promises, as abused the businesse much worse then the rest. For the businesse being builded vpon the foundation of their fained experience, the planters, the money and meanes haue still miscarried: yet they ever returning, and the planters so farre absent, who could contradict their excuses? which, still to maintaine their vaine glory and estimation, from time to time haue vsed such diligence as made them passe for truths, though nothing more false. And that the adventurers might be thus abused, let no man wonder; for the wisest liuing is soonest abused by him that hath a faire tongue and a dissembling heart.

There were many in *Virginia* meerely proiecting, verball, and idle contemplators, and those so devoted to pure idlenesse, that though they had liued two or three yeares in *Virginia*, lordly, necessitie it selfe could not compell them to passe the *Peninsula*, or *Pallisadoes* of *Iames* Towne; and those witty spirits, what would they not affirme in the behalfe of our transporters, to get victuall from their ships, or obtaine their good words in *England*, to get their passes. [p. 84.]

Thus from the clamors, and the ignorance of false informers, are sprung those disasters that sprung in *Virginia*: and our ingenious verbalists were no lesse plague to vs in *Virginia*, then the Locusts to the Egyptians. For the labour of twentie or thirtie of the best onely preserved in

[1607-9] Christianitie by their industry, the idle livers of neare two hundred of the rest: who liuing neere ten moneths [*Oct.* 1608—10 *July* 1609] of such naturall meanes, as the Country naturally of it selfe afforded.

Notwithstanding all this, and the worst fury of the Salvages, the extremitie of sicknesse, mutinies, faction, ignorances, and want of victuall; in all that time I lost but seaven or eight men, yet subiected the salvages to our desired obedience, and receiued contribution from thirtie fiue of their Kings, to protect and assist them against any that should assault them, in which order they continued true and faithfull, and as subiects to his Maiestie, so long after as I did governe there, vntill I left the Countrey.

Since, how they haue revolted, the Countrie lost, and againe replanted, and the businesses hath succeeded from time to time, I referre you to the relations of them returned from *Virginia*, that haue beene more diligent in such Observations.

Iohn Smith *writ this with his owne hand.* [40]

Because many doe desire to know the manner of their Language, I haue inserted these few words. [1607–9]

Akatorawincs yowo. What call you this.
Nemarough, a man.
Crenepo, a woman.
Marowanchesso, a boy.
Yehawkans, Houses.
Matchcores, Skins, or garments.
Mockasins, Shooes.
Tussan, Beds.
Pokatawer, Fire.
Attawp, A bow.
Attonce, Arrowes.
Monacookes, Swords.
Aumouhhowgh, A Target.
Pawcussacks, Gunnes.
Tomahacks, Axes.
Tockahacks, Pickaxes.
Pamesacks, Kniues.
Accowprets, Sheares.
Pawpecones, Pipes.
Mattassin, Copper.
Vssawassin, Iron, Brasse, Silver, or any white mettall. *Musses*, Woods.
Attasskuss, Leaues, weeds, or grasse.
Chepsin, Land.
Shacquohocan. A stone.
Wepenter, A cookold.
Suckahanna, Water.
Noughmass, Fish.
Copotone, Sturgeon.
Weghshaughes, Flesh. [pp. 44–46.]
Sawwehone, Bloud.
Netoppew, Friends.
Marrapough, Enemies.
Maskapow, the worst of the enemies.
Mawchick chammay, The best of friends.
Casacunnakack, peya quagh acquintan vttasantasough, In how many daies will there come hither any more English Ships.

Their Numbers.

Necut, 1. *Ningh*, 2. *Nuss*, 3. *Yowgh*, 4. *Paranske*, 5. *Comotinch*, 6. *Toppawoss*, 7. *Nusswash*, 8. *Kekatawgh*, 9. *Kaskeke*, 10.

They count no more but by tennes as followeth.
Case, how many.
Ninghsapóoeksku, 20.
Nussapooeksku, 30.
Yowghapooeksku, 40.
Parankestassapooeksku, 50.
Comatinchtassapooeksku, 60.
Nussswashtassapooeksku, 70.
Kekataughtassapooeksku, 90.
Necuttoughtysinough, 100.
Necuttwevnquaough, 1000.

Rawcosowghs, Dayes.

[1607–9] *Keskowghes*, Sunnes.
Toppquough, Nights.
[*pp.* 44–46.] *Nepawweshowghs*, Moones.
Pawpaxsoughes, Yeares.
Pummahumps, Starres.
Osies, Heavens.
Okees, Gods.
Quiyoughcosoughs, Pettie Gods, and their affinities.
Righcomoughes, Deaths.
Kekughes, Liues.
Mowchick woyawgh tawgh noeragh kaquere mecher, I am very hungry? what shall I eate?
Tawnor nehiegh Powhatan, Where dwels Powhatan.
Mache, nehiegh yourowgh, Orapaks. Now he dwels a great way hence at Orapaks.
Vittapitchewayne anpechitchs nehawper Werowacomoco, You lie, he staid ever at Werowacomoco.
Kator nehiegh mattagh neer vttapitchewayne, Truely he is there I doe not lie.
Spaughtynere keragh werowance mawmarinough kekatem wawgh peyaquaugh, Run you then to the King Mawmarynough and bid him come hither.
Vtteke, e peya weyack wighwhip, Get you gone, and come againe quickly.
Kekaten Pokahontas patiaquagh niugh tanks manotyens neer mowchick rawrenock audowgh, Bid Pokahontas bring hither two little Baskets, and I will giue her white Beads to make her a Chaine.

FINIS. [41]

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